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WHAT IS CREATIVE AND WHAT IS NOT:
THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL NORMS FOR CREATIVITY
IN ADVERTISING AGENCIES

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WHAT IS CREATIVE AND WHAT IS NOT:
THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL NORMS FOR CREATIVITY
IN ADVERTISING AGENCIES

By

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ABSTRACT

WHAT IS CREATIVE AND WHAT IS NOT:
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By

Mark Wilson Stuhlfaut

Creativity in advertising has been described and discussed extensively by

academicians and practitioners, typically as an intrapersonal or group process with five

stages: problem-identification, preparation, generation, validation, and outcome. An

understanding of creativity in advertising, however, is incomplete without considering the

social norms that strongly influence the process. This study theorized that there are

powerful social norms for creativity, defined as what is creative and what is not, that

influence the creative process directly through affecting the perceptions of creativity

among copywriters and art directors in advertising agencies and indirectly through

intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. A national cross-sectional online survey asked these

creative professionals for their definition of what is and is not creative. It measured

social norms for creativity along three dimensions: strength, consensus and

conditionality; and, it tested 18 hypotheses and a model of the creative process to find the

significant pathways. A structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis indicated that the

proposed model was acceptable. The data supported the hypothesized direct effects of

social norms for creativity on synergistic extrinsic motivation and on the preparation and

validation stages of the creative process. Social norms for creativity also affected the

validation stage indirectly through synergistic extrinsic motivation. In addition, several

unexpected relationships were found. The implication of the study is that advertising

agencies need to know more about the operant social norms for creativity to fully utilize those standards deemed useful and to challenge those standards that may restrict new breakthroughs. Implications also exist beyond advertising to other creative endeavors in group settings, because these sites also can be expected to have social norms for creativity.

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Jeanie, for all her love, support, and encouragement from the beginning to the end of my journey through graduate school.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

xiii

LIST OF FIGURES

KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Conceptual Framework

Creativity is an intrinsically motivated endeavor conducted in the face of strong extrinsic influences (Amabile, 1996), but creativity in advertising, as it is commonly practiced, is also a quest for fresh and distinctive ideas within the boundaries of an organization, the advertising agency. Organizations are social systems of two or more interrelated groups of people that work collectively to achieve specific goals through programs of activities (Indik, 1968). Members rely on their organizations to counteract the forces that undermine collaboration and to make the processes and output more predictable (Scott, 1961).

Within each organization, social norms, briefly defined as group standards for individual behavior, emerge to support and constrain the actions of its members (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). This social information is more influential in predicting attitudes about work than individual needs (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978), and, according to the theory of reasoned action, people use social norms to modify their intended behavior in ways that are more socially acceptable (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Advertising agencies have been identified as organizations that exert social control over their members (Collins, 1998; Norris, 1983). Hence, the subculture of creative professionals, defined as the group of people in advertising agencies who are directly involved with the creation of advertising, such as art directors and copywriters, could be expected to adjust their expression of ideas to fit social norms for creativity, which is defined as an organization's formal and informal standards for what is and is not creative.

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine how social norms for creativity affect the creative process in advertising from the subjective point of view of creative professionals in advertising agencies.

Significance of the Study

The study of social norms is important to the field for three reasons. First, if social scientists want to understand creativity in advertising fully, and if advertising practitioners want to maximize creativity and its results, they need to consider the effect that social norms have on the creative process from its beginning, because how a problem is characterized or formulated determines how it is approached and solved (Volkema, 1997). Social norms have been called the "primary source of social order and predictability...crucial to social life and a most important subject for sociological inquiry" (Feld, 2002). Social norms are especially relevant to the creation of advertising, because social norms have been shown generally to have their greatest influence when circumstances are uncertain, when the source of the norms is similar to those on whom the norms are imposed, and when those most affected by norms desire to maintain a close relationship with the source (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Social norms have also been shown to be more influential in problem-solving tasks than in clerical tasks (Bateman, Griffin, & Rubinstein, 1987), and this finding applies to the creation of advertisements, as the process is essentially finding a creative solution to a marketing problem. Such solutions also are most likely to occur when highly creative individuals exclude "familiar, reliable responses [*social norms*] and promote novel, surprising ones" (Stokes, 2006).

Second, advertising agencies tend to be more successful as they develop a clear vision of what they represent, what they offer, and who they serve (T. Williams, 2005). Hence, it is in an agency's best interests to develop a strong set of social norms that is communicated to every employee in the organization, as well to clients and prospective clients. These social norms include expectations for all aspects of behavior, such as how individuals from various departments should interact and how to work with clients; but, as the creative product is exceptionally critical to advertising agencies, it is also expected that agencies should have strong norms for creativity.

Third, this study of social norms is important, because these antecedents of creativity, not to mention advertising creativity, have hardly been examined, as evidenced by a review of the published literature and available dissertations. Within the organizational literature, for example, no mention of social norms for creativity appeared in a study of the empirical research on factors that influence individual creativity in the workplace (Egan, 2005). A recent review of literature on social factors for creativity (Madjar, 2005) reported how people within organizations influence creativity by providing information and social support, but it failed to consider how people within organizations limit the range of alternatives considered and affect the type of solutions adopted.

The concept of social norms is also absent within the advertising academy. No mention of normative influence or a similar construct was found in a recent review of the existing state of knowledge about advertising creativity, its theoretical foundation, its measurement, and methods for stimulation (see El-Murad & West, 2004). Only a few studies begin to approach the subject of social norms for creativity, such as one that

investigates the subjectivity of perspectives that advertising people have, based on their job or role in the creative process (Hirschman, 1989). Koslow, Sasser and Riordan (2003) concluded that while both account and creative professionals attribute creativity to strategy, originality and artistry, account managers tend to have the norm that advertising is creative, if it is original and strategic; and creative professionals tend to believe that advertising is creative, if it is original and artistic. Young (2000) explored the differences between the attitudes of art directors and copywriters in the creation of television commercials and reported that art directors valued originality and "attention-getting power," while writers thought the ability of the audience to relate to the ad, the believability of the ad, and its power to persuade were more crucial.

Additionally, the research for this dissertation responded implicitly to a call for investigation into group-level creativity (Kurtzberg & Amabile, 2000-2001), which asked for greater understanding of how the presence of other people and their ideas affect individual creativity, how ideas take shape in the social setting, and how environments, norms and emotions within a team affect the creation and expression of ideas.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Creativity

Definition and Approach

Etymologically, the origin of the word, creativity, stems from the Latin word, *creatus*, and its past participle, *creare*, meaning "to make or produce" (Merriam-Webster, 1988). Creativity is a general construct to describe the production of "work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful)" (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999, p. 3). Work is used here in the broadest sense of the word, for creative work can be as abstract as creative thoughts or as concrete as creative behavior, performances, products, or other means of expression (Taylor, 1988). Creativity is also said to occur when a person produces a new variation that is generative or influential: generative, meaning that a new product leads to additional new developments, and influential, meaning that a new product changes the way people relate to the product category (Stokes, 2006).

Theories about creativity have been classified into those based on philosophy, psychology, psychoanalysis, or domains (Piirto, 2004). Philosophers, such as Kant (1976), Langer (1957) and Hofstadter (1985), sought to examine the deeper meanings of creativity and its relation to the human spirit. Psychologists, such as Galton (1976), Guilford (1950), Torrance (1974), MacKinnon (1962) and Tannenbaum (1983), sought to understand the cognitive and affective processes to predict creative results. Psychoanalysts, such as Freud (1976), Jung (1933), and Rank (1960), studied creativity to understand the fundamental nature of human beings. And domain-specific theorists, such as Poe (1846), Cannon (1945) and Koestler (1964) examined creativity inductively within their field to understand what makes certain people within it more creative than others.

Mooney (1963) stated that creativity can be approached in four ways: by studying the environment that supports and influences the result (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1988), the result or the end product itself (e.g., Besemer & O'Quin, 1986; White & Smith, 2001), the process of creation (e.g., M. A. West, 2003), or people involved (e.g., John-Steiner, 2000). Runco (2004) used a similar framework, first proposed by Rhodes (1987), that divided studies of creativity into those of people, product, process and press. While Rhode's first three classifications are self-explanatory, "press" is short for "pressure," which refers to the external influences on creativity from "the relationship of human beings and their environment" (Runco, 2004, p. 220).

The four approaches to creativity are fundamentally intertwined, but this dissertation focuses primarily on creativity as a process and secondarily on the pressure that affects the process. The process-based orientation is taken to discuss creativity as a phenomenon with its various affects and effects, while the pressure-based orientation is taken, because the process does not exist independently of its socio-cultural context (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997).

This dissertation does not focus on creative people, because these individuals—particularly those in advertising—already have been examined extensively to explore what makes certain people more successful than others in the development of creative ideas. For example, Gardner (1993) analyzed the creativity of Einstein, Picasso, Stravinsky, Eliot, Graham and Gandhi. Rothenberg (1998) compared the creative genius of advertising icons, Leo Burnett and William Bernbach, while Buxton (1975) profiled the working lives of creative advertising professionals and surveyed their attitudes.

This dissertation also does not focus directly on the creative product, because such a focus leads to evaluations of which advertisements are more creative or to studies that seek to explicate the effects of advertising. For example, White and Smith (2001) used the Creative Product Semantic Scale (Besemer & O'Quin, 1986) to determine the degree to which advertising professionals, students and the general public agreed in their evaluations of advertising creativity. Murphy and Maynard (1996) compared the decision-making criteria used by advertising agency professionals and clients to evaluate creativity and other factors that affect their approval of advertising campaigns. Kovar, Goldberg, and James (1995) studied the emotional reactions of consumers to compare advertising creativity and effectiveness.

Creativity as an Internal Process

Creativity has been conceptualized most often as an intra-individual process (Cropley, 1999) that people complete with a four-step sequence, which was formally stated by Wallas (1926). The four steps are: *preparation*, where a problem is defined and preliminarily analyzed in the context of the knowledge, skills and experience of the person undertaking the process; *incubation*, where the person takes a break from the creative activity to allow unconscious associations to form; *illumination*, where the person becomes consciously aware of a new idea; and *verification*, where the idea is evaluated and shaped based upon the creator's experience in the relevant domain.

During the past 60 years, however, many researchers have questioned the validity of the four-step model. Most tend to view the creative process as more dynamic, integrated, complex, simultaneous, and recursive (Calwelti, Rappaport, & Wood, 1992; Doyle, 1998; Eindhoven & Vinacke, 1952). Stokes (2006) finds the essence of the

process in defining the structural space of the problem, acquiring knowledge about existing conventional solutions, and exploring contradictory alternatives. Lubart, in an extensive review of the four-step model, concluded that, while the four-step model generally has served the study of creativity well, more work needs to be done "to specify in much greater detail how the subprocesses can be sequenced to yield creative productions" (Lubart, 2000-2001, p. 305). This dissertation answered this call by investigating the relationship between the process and social norms, as mediated by motivational orientation.

Motivational Orientation

In reaction to the behavior theorists in psychology, who generally classified the causes of human actions into two categories (biological processes, such as hunger and sleep, and extrinsic rewards and punishments), some researchers in the 20th Century saw other explanations. Behavior also may originate from internal processes, which Woodworth called "native equipment" (1918, p. 44). Years later, Koch (1956) noted two affective states related to creative work that could not be explained by extrinsic motivation—those forces, beyond interest in a task itself, that influence people to perform a task. In State A, an individual can be "aesthetically desensitized" (p. 66) and "no manipulation of extrinsic conditions…seems to improve matters much" (p.67); or in State B, the person may by so committed to a task, that he or she becomes one with the task to such a degree that performance is "self-regulated, self-determined, self-motivated, self-energizing, and, unfortunately, self-liquidating" (p. 71). These states became the foundation for the understanding of intrinsic motivation.

Deci (1975) traced the development of intrinsic motivation, noting deficiencies in past approaches, and concluded that the best way to understand intrinsic motivation was in terms of competence and self-determination. Competence is a person's intrinsic need "to deal effectively with his [or her] surroundings" (Deci, 1975, p. 55), and it is through such competence that a person acquires a sense of self-determination or autonomy. De Charms (1968) also supported the intrinsic need of self-determination by stating: "Man strives to be a causal agent, to be the primary locus of causation for, or the origin of, his behavior" (p. 269).

Initially, intrinsic motivation was viewed as independent from extrinsic motivation (Sansone & Harackiewicz, 2000b). Deci (1975), however, demonstrated many ways that extrinsic rewards affect intrinsic motivation, such as when people are compensated for performance. Intrinsic motivation decreases, because people tend to transfer the reasons for their success to external causes. For example, when people receive compliments, they tend to attribute the reason for their interest in performing to influencing others to like them. This interaction has received support from many researchers, including Fisher (1978), who also found external constraints on performance affected intrinsic motivation; and Daniel and Esser (1980), who found external rewards reduced intrinsic motivation for high-interest and low-structure tasks.

Other researchers have seen different interactions. Dermer (1975) reported a finding that people high in intrinsic motivation were also high in extrinsic motivation due to performance-contingent rewards. Philips and Lord (1980) and, later, Arnold (1985) were not able to replicate Deci's results in evaluations of the effect of monetary rewards and competency information on intrinsic motivation. Arnold found, however, that task

9

performance was significantly related to competence and attributions, which were in turn significantly related to measures of intrinsic motivation.

A sharp controversy surfaced in the mid-1990s when Eisenberger and Cameron (1996) concluded that, on the basis of their research and a synthesis of the literature using meta-analysis techniques, negative effects of extrinsic motivation are easily avoidable, and positive effects on intrinsic motivation are easily produced using behavioral research procedures. Other researchers criticized these conclusions as misinterpretations of the data (Lepper, 1998) or over-simplifications (Sansone & Harackiewicz, 1998). Ryan and Deci (2000) summarized another meta-analysis (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999) that corrected the perceived errors in Eisenberger and Cameron's research based on additional studies. Their review concluded that rewards, which are contingent on engagement, completion, and performance (either separately or in combination), undermine intrinsic motivation; however, positive feedback generally enhances intrinsic motivation, when it is given in a non-controlling manner that imparts useful information for the recipient. Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000a) sought to resolve the conflict among researchers by stating that the current consensus was that reward effects depend on the type of activity, reward, feedback, context and source.

Work-related Motivational Orientation

The academic literature in regards to motivational orientation in work situations is much more limited than research about motivation orientation in general, which typically uses children or college students as subjects. In an analysis that was more descriptive than empirical, Thomas (2000) traced the shift during the Twentieth Century from extrinsic to intrinsic motivation in the American workplace. Extrinsic rewards, such as

salaries, bonuses, and benefits, were more applicable when work was highly structured and closely supervised. Thomas maintained that the recent work environment has become more complex and diffuse, so employees are more self-reliant and supported to a greater degree by their own intrinsic motivation. Florida (2002) echoes this paradigm shift in the structure of the American workforce by claiming that the size and influence of the "Creative Class," those people who must think on their own, is now greater than the size and influence of Working Class.

Thomas proposed a model of intrinsic motivation that combines Deci's core components of self-determination and competence with elements from a model by Hackman and Oldham (1980). Hackman and Oldham's model made intrinsic motivation contingent on three psychological states (meaningfulness of work, responsibility for the outcome, and knowledge of actual results) and five core job characteristics: skill variety, comprehensiveness of the task, significance of the task, autonomy and feedback from the job itself (as opposed to feedback from supervisors). Thomas' final model also included four exogenous variables that affect intrinsic motivation: committing to a meaningful purpose, choosing the activities to accomplish the task, gaining a personal sense of competence through one's performance, and monitoring one's progress toward the purpose.

Recent empirical research (Luo, 1999) supports the notion that intrinsic motivation is related to job satisfaction, while extrinsic motivation is related to depression, which implies that extrinsic motivation is negatively related to intrinsic motivation. Yperen and Hagedoorn's (2003) survey of 555 nurses found that high levels

of instrumental support increased intrinsic motivation. Instrumental support is support that has a direct bearing on the completion of a task.

A totally different perspective on intrinsic motivation is that, while people may have certain predisposition toward intrinsic or extrinsic motivation, their motivational state may be affected at work by the socialization process and national culture. A comparative study (Peterson & Ruiz-Quintanilla, 2003) contrasted American and Japanese cultures, and its authors concluded that, while American culture supports individualism and self determination, Japanese culture socializes people to think in terms of the collective interest.

A meta-analysis (Wiersma, 1992) narrowed the scope of studies on motivation orientation to include only research that defined extrinsic rewards as money, used adults for subjects, and was conducted between 1971 and 1990 to coincide with the period of the studies on the negative effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation. Previously, studies of intrinsic motivation typically measured the amount of free time that subjects were willing to spend on an experiment and their response to a reward as evidence of an effect. Wiersma's meta-analysis, however, only found support for the negative effect of extrinsic motivation on intrinsic motivation in the free-time condition, thus suggesting that the effect depends on how the independent variable is measured. Wiersma stated that the variable of free time is not an appropriate measure of motivation orientation for the workplace, because: 1) It is not externally valid if one extrapolates the time spent in the laboratory to a day's work; 2) Employees are paid for their work regardless of their effort, so even during their "free time," they are still being rewarded; and 3) Free-time performance in the workplace may also be construed as working for

delayed gratification. Wiersma called for additional research to "specify "the construct of intrinsic motivation more clearly." (1992, p. 112).

Motivation and Creativity

Intrinsic motivation has been viewed as fundamental for creativity to such an extent that Amabile (1996) formalized the relationship through the Intrinsic Motivation Principle of Creativity: "Intrinsic motivation is conducive to creativity; *controlling* extrinsic motivation[1] is detrimental to creativity, but *informational* or *enabling* extrinsic motivation[2] can be conducive, particularly if initial levels of intrinsic motivation are high" (Amabile, 1996, p. 119). This principle has been called "undisputed" (Hennessey, 2003, p. 183). Empirical support for this principle comes from 12 years of experimental, non-experimental and theoretical research (Amabile, 1996) that links many general and organizational social-environmental contingencies to creativity (Table 1). Five critical detriments to creativity are expected rewards, expected evaluation, surveillance, limits of time, and competition (Hennessy, 2003).

Researchers inside the field of advertising have noticed the effects of motivation on creativity to varying degrees. Reid, King, and DeLorme (1998) reported that top-level creative people were exceedingly aware of the "oversight pressure" they received from account management to produce better creative ideas. Sutherland, Duke and Abernathy

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[1] Extrinsic motivating factors that control or undermine creativity are those such as win-lose competitions, expected negative evaluations, and concern for rewards (Amabile, 1996).

[2] Extrinsic motivational factors that enable creativity by providing information are those such as establishing objectives, providing feedback, offering support, or giving recognition (Amabile, 1996).

Type/valence	Positive	Negative
General	Automomy/sense of control Sufficient resources Importance/urgency in the work Optimal challenge Recognition/reward that confirms competence Reward that enables intrinsically interesting work Task matched to interests Sufficient task structure to support competent performance	Threatening critical evaluation connoting incompetence Expectation of critical evaluation Surveillance Contracted-for reward connoting control Restricted choice/constraint Arbitrary/unrealistic deadlines Competition with co-workers
Organizational	Recognition that failure in work can provide valuable information Mechanisms for considering new ideas High-level encouragement toward innovation Immediate supervisor encouragement Co-worker skill diversity Co-worker openness to new ideas Rigid status structures Co-workers challenge ideas constructively Emphasis on intrinsic motivators Competition with outside organizations Constructive work-focused feedback Clear strategic direction with procedural autonomy Cooperation Collaboration	Lack of communication Lack of cooperation Emphasis on the status quo Emphasis on extrinsic motivators Win-lose competition within the organization Rigid procedures Apathy toward project from others in organization

Table 1: Socio-environmental Contingencies to Creativity
(Amabile, 1996)

14

(2004) explicated the types of information that creative teams consider to be "critical to the creation of effective advertising" (p. 39). As opposed to Hennessey, West (1993) found that senior creative directors at U.S. and Canadian advertising agencies believe competition, deadlines and awards have a positive effect on creativity. Perhaps the reason deadlines do not affect advertising creativity is because, as Burgess, Enzle and Schmaltz (2004) suggest, subjects in experiments with deadlines negate the extrinsic effect of a deadline by imposing their own time constraint, which thereby increases their sense of self-determination (e. g., Deci, 1975). O'Connor, Willemain and MacLachlan (1996) corroborated the benefits of competition in producing more effective advertisements, as did Vanden Bergh, Reid and Schorin (1983), who generally concluded on the basis of an experiment that the more alternatives generated, the better the chances of obtaining the "best creative idea" (p. 49). Ensor, Cottam, and Band (2001) reported that advertising agencies in the United Kingdom were well organized to promote creativity, as they generally lacked such extrinsic constraints as vertical hierarchies and strong norms for conformity, while, at the same time, they were well supported with resources, generally autonomous, and utilized a "no-blame culture" (p. 153).

A Motivation-based Approach to the Internal Creative Process

The componential theory of creativity (Amabile, 1983, 1996) places the process of creativity in the context of motivation, and although it has some deficiencies that will be discussed after the theory is explained, the theory provides a useful framework for a broader understanding. The theory is built upon three components that are "necessary and sufficient for creative production in any domain" (Amabile, 1996, p. 81): task motivation, domain-relevant skills, and creativity-relevant skills (Figure 1).
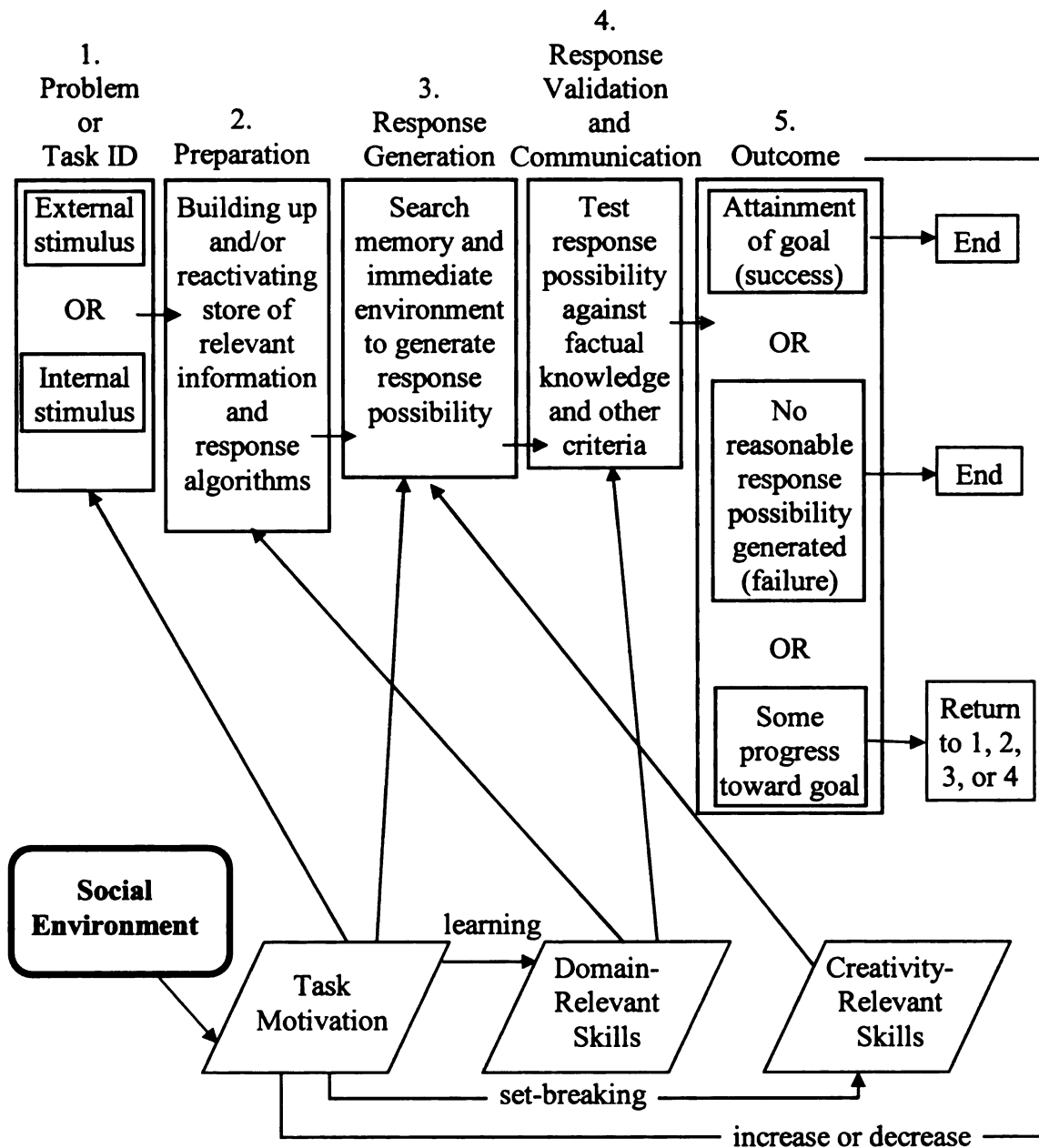
Figure 1: Componential Model of Creativity
(Amabile, 1996, p. 113)

16

Task motivation includes an individual's baseline attitude toward the task, which is directly related to the intrinsic aspect of motivation and to external factors that comprise an individual's extrinsic motivation. *Domain-relevant skills* are those abilities that are pertinent to a particular endeavor, including all relevant knowledge, technical skills and special talents that may contribute to creativity. *Creativity-relevant skills* consist of: 1) cognitive abilities to understand and to solve the creative problem; 2) knowledge of heuristics, such as looking at the problem from opposing points of view (for an example in advertising, see Blasko & Mokwa, 1986); and 3) conducive methods and habits of work, such as the ability to concentrate, the persistence of effort, and the willingness to work hard (Amabile, 1996). These three components facilitate the creative process as individuals or small groups[3] work through its five steps: problem or task identification, preparation, response generation, response validation and communication, and outcome.

Problem or task identification is the stimuli for creative action that may come from within the individual or from external sources. Either the individual may have a reason to engage in the creative process, or others may "identify a problem and present it to the individual" (Amabile, 1996, p. 114). In the preparation step, the individual conducts an internal search of memory and external search of available sources to acquire relevant knowledge about the problem, including response algorithms from previous experience in the domain. The response generation step consists of cognitively processing information about the problem into new combinations, and success depends

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[3]Amabile extended the componential theory of creativity to include small work groups, along with individuals, as part of proposing a preliminary model of organizational innovation (Amabile, 1988).

on an individual's motivation and relevant creative skills. In the fourth step, response validation and communication, domain-relevant skills are used evaluate the creative solution for its appropriateness, and the idea is shared with others to be evaluated within the context of the social system. The fifth step or the outcome of the process determines whether or not the creative idea is accepted, rejected, or revised through further iterations of the process.

. External influences in the social environment are shown to affect the process through the individual's motivation, and an extension of the model explains this effect in detail (Figure 2). Motivation is actually comprised of three components: *intrinsic motivation*, which is "any motivation that arises from the individual's positive reaction to the qualities of the task itself" (Amabile, 1996, p. 115); *synergistic extrinsic motivation*, which is impetus for action that comes from external factors that "support one's sense of competence or enable one's deeper involvement in the task itself" (Amabile, 1996, p. 118); and *nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation*, which is the negative impetus for action that comes from external factors perceived to be controlling or constraining.

Amabile provides a non-exhaustive list of social-environmental influences that feed synergistic and nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation. Positive influences include the importance of the task, the degree to which the organization rewards or recognizes competence, and supervisory encouragement. Negative influences that support nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation include critical evaluations, surveillance, internal competition, unrealistic deadlines, and rigid procedures (Amabile, 1996, p. 120).

The componential theory of creativity was useful to this investigation, because it defines the process explicitly and provides pathways for empirical testing. It modifies the
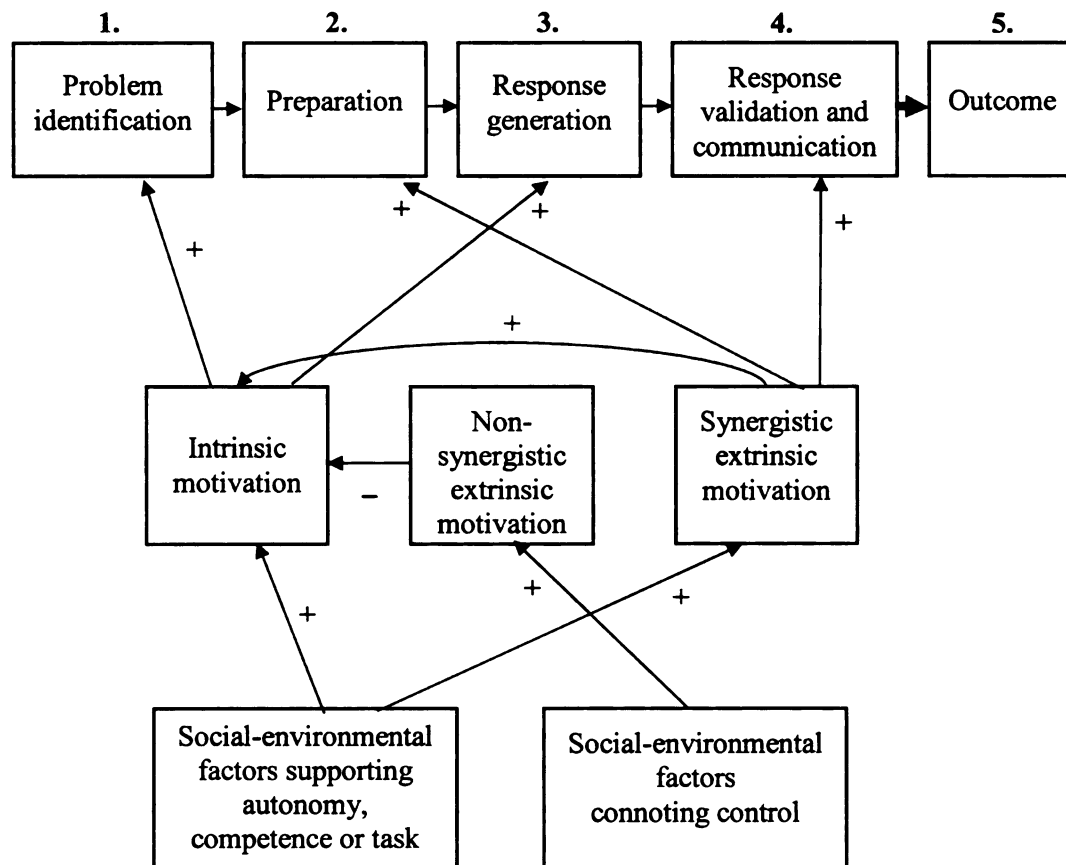
Figure 2: Detail of Componential Model of Creativity
(Amabile, 1996, p. 119)

four-step model to include a new first step of problem identification, combines incubation into preparation, transforms the nebulous third step of inspiration into a more empirical step of response generation, expands the verification step to include communicating the idea to others (see the social perspective that follows below), and adds an outcome step with contingent alternatives that allow for iterations and failure.

Empirical research using the model has been fairly consistent, as the basic pathways from socio-environmental influences to task motivation to response generation have been well supported by 12 years of study (Amabile, 1996). "There is a consistent positive relationship between expressed interest in an activity and actual creativity of performance" (Amabile, 1996, p. 171). Intrinsic motivation, rewards given when the subject has no choice in participating, choices in how to perform a task, and watching similar behavior in others (modeling) can all have positive effects (Amabile, 1996). On the other hand, social-environmental influences—such as the expectation of evaluation, contracting to perform a creative act for a reward, the presence of others, and the motivational orientation toward extrinsic influence—tend to lower levels of creativity. It should be added that although a later study found support for the main effects of the model, no direct relationship was established between the social environment and motivation and between the social environment and creativity (Hill, 1991; Hill, Amabile, Coon, & Whitney, 1994, as cited in Amabile, 1996).

A criticism of the componential theory of creativity is that, while it includes the influence of social forces, the theory is not truly social in its conceptualization (Rickards & De Cock, 1999). There are no between-individual factors, such as the degree to which group members collaborate or have the same perception of the operating social norms.

While the model is primarily individualistic in its scope, it includes the influence of the domain and the social environment. The question to be addressed, however, is whether or not the influence of the social environment on the process is only through motivation. Could social factors influence the creative process in other ways?

Evidence of Individual-focused Creativity in Advertising

This individualistic perspective on creativity has been widely adopted by advertising practitioners, who strive to maximize creativity, and by academic researchers, who seek to explain its antecedents and consequences. For example, Gelade (1997) analyzed the personalities of individuals in commercial design and found they were substantially more neurotic, more open to experience, somewhat extraverted, and less conscientious than average. Kovar (1995) looked for antecedents of creativity in copywriters' implicit theories of communication.

The classic model of advertising creativity is introspective in nature, and it is based on the four-step process. Its origination usually has been attributed (e.g., Bengtson, 1982) to James Webb Young (1886-1973), an advertising copywriter and executive, who spent the majority of his career at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency from 1912 to 1964 (The John W. Hartman Center, 2006). Young described the process as having five distinct stages: *ingestion*, the gathering of information in a systematic manner; *digestion*, thinking about the creative task and examining the gathered information to develop tentative ideas; *incubation*, taking a break from the task, engaging in another form of stimulating activity, while the subconscious mind continues to think about the problem; *inspiration*, experiencing the conscious realization of the solution; and *verification*, where the rudimentary idea is subject to criticism and developed into its

practical application. Note that Young's model also is quite similar to Amabile's creative process with five steps discussed previously: identification, preparation, generation, validation and outcome.

There are many other investigations of advertising creative process that focus on the individual. Moriarty and Robbs (1999) describe how creative professionals in advertising balance logic with irrationality, artistic freedom with constraints of the task, and divergent thinking with convergent thinking. A practical creative technique described by Cotzias (1996) is looking at an ordinary product from an extraordinary point of view. This intra-personal perspective also forms the basis of an associative model of advertising creativity, where the key element is the copywriter's ability to "associate the given facts into a functionally creative idea" (Reid & Rotfeld, 1976, p. 26). Framing creativity in advertising as a process that resides within individuals is not limited to the academic realm. Terence Poltrack, in an article published in AGENCY magazine, the official publication of the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA), states: "Despite the collaborative nature of ad creative—the art director/copywriter *Sturm und Drang* (not to mention what happens later with an account executive)—it remains most true to trace ideas back to individuals" (Poltrack, 1991, p. 28).

Creativity as a Social Process

This dissertation adopts the position that the creative process is best understood as a social function, rather than as a personal one. According to Amabile (1982), creativity is inherently determined by social, cultural, and historical factors, and it is impossible to separate creativity from its milieu. Hennessey (2003) states that creativity does not occur in a vacuum and that creative behavior only can be understood by considering the full

context in which people exist. Harrington (1990) defines social creativity as creativity that affects others and argues that even the lonely fiction writer creates as part of an ecological system: "Creativity does not 'reside' in any single cognitive or personality process, does not occur at any single point in time, does not 'happen' at any particular place, and is not the product of any single individual" (Harrington, 1990, p. 150).

Perhaps the clearest construction of creativity as a social process was advanced by Csikszentmihalyi (1988), who described creativity as the dynamic interaction between an individual, the domain and the field (Figure 3). An individual with his or her genetic abilities and personal experiences takes useful information for the creative task from the domain, which is a subset of culture that grounds the creative work within a specific context. The product of an individual's creative endeavor is then judged by a field of involved and concerned individuals, who act as gatekeepers to allow only the material deemed as creative to pass into society. The successful creative expressions, be they art, language, scientific advancements or consumer products, eventually move into the domain and general culture, where they reside to affect future iterations of the process.

An illustration of this social or systemic theory related to advertising is the campaign for the National Fluid Milk Processor Board that was produced by the Bozell advertising agency. The basis for the creative concept of a milk moustache came from the domain of the common childhood experience of drinking milk. The Bozell creative staff (a group of individuals) shaped the idea into a sports context by using well-know athletes, such as Michael Jordan. The client (field) deemed the idea to be creative and selected it as the concept for the campaign. From there, the campaign became popular
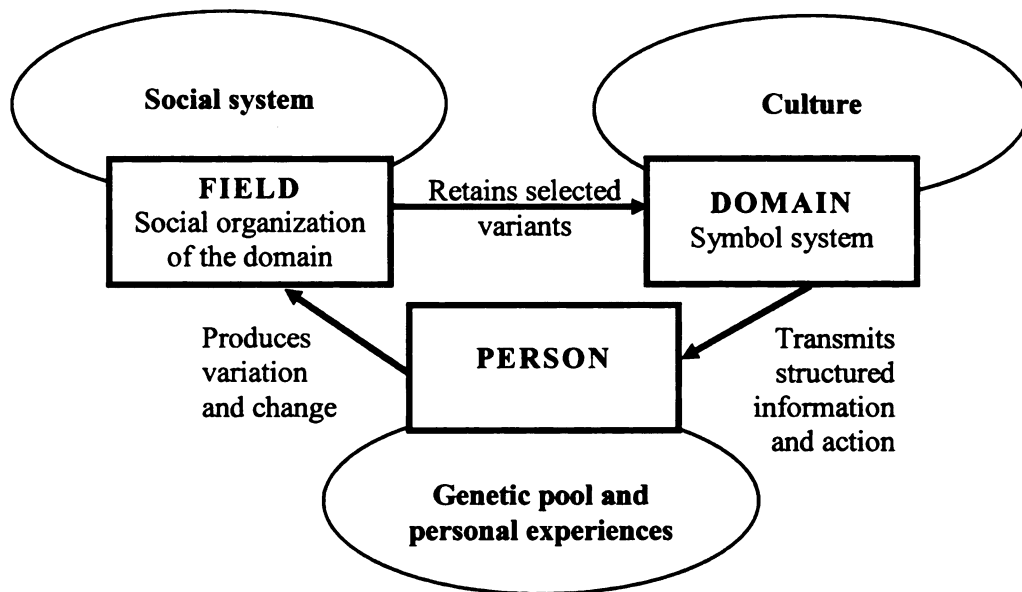
Figure 3: Systemic Model of the Creative Process
(Csikszentmihalyi, 1988)

enough to enter the general American culture (and the domain), where it was recycled into new creative material by writers on several late-night television programs (Champa, 1995d).

The important contribution of this systemic theory of creativity is that it takes the focus off the individual and moves it to a higher level, where nothing is outside of the process. It is important to note that, as presented by Csikszentmihalyi, the process moves in a counter-clockwise direction from domain to individual to field and back to the domain; however, Csikszentmihalyi also recognized that the flow only represents the main path of development. Other possibilities exist, such as when the field stimulates individuals to act or influences them in some way. For example, Csikszentmihalyi (1988) noted that Florentine artists during the Renaissance were employed by Florentine benefactors to produce great works of art, much in the same way as in advertising when clients hire agencies to produce television commercials. In both cases, the presence of normative values may be inferred in this relationship, because ultimately the artists and the advertising professionals are creating products to satisfy the expectations of their respective fields. While the systemic theory of Csikszentmihalyi is useful in describing creativity as a process that extends beyond the individual and allows for the influence of social norms, it does not provide much detail on the specific manner in which various factors influence creativity (Amabile, 1996), and it does not specifically delineate the effect of social norms.

Evidence of Creativity in Advertising as a Social Process

Despite the dominance of creativity as an intra-personal process in advertising, evidence of creativity as a social process can be inferred in studies of interactions

between agencies and clients (Holz, Ryans, & Shanklin, 1982) and between account managers and creative teams (Tinkham, Lane, & Leung, 1987; Vanden Bergh, Smith, & Wicks, 1986). Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut (2006) used Csikszentmihalyi's systemic model to show how a series of reports about the moment of creation, which were meant to show the sources of individual inspiration, instead, revealed evidence of the social creative process. Several studies (D. C. West, 1999; D. C. West & Ford, 2001) report how people in advertising agencies assess and manage risk as part of the creative process. Young (2000) implicitly recognizes the social aspect of creativity in an examination of attitudinal differences within teams of copywriters and art directors. Johar, Holbrook and Stern (2001) analyzed the interactions within creative teams and concluded that teams, which searched more widely for thematic approaches, were more successful in developing the best creative concepts, as judged by a jury of advertising experts. Collins (1998) constructed a multi-layered model of the creative process to explain the social interactions between creative teams, agencies, and clients.

External Pressure on the Creative Process

After the creative process, the second aspect of creativity on which this dissertation focuses is the pressure from the environment, and as advertising creativity is conducted within the bounds of advertising-agency organizations, this discussion of environmental pressure is limited to the organizational influences of structure, mission, resources, climate, and culture that have been described as the key components of organizations (M. A. West, 2003). The purpose of this section is to trace the pressure on creativity through these key components to the specific external pressure of social norms.

Structure

Structure is the set of "enduring characteristics of an organization reflected by the distribution of units and positions within the organization and their systematic relationships to each other" (James & Jones, 1976). Flat organizational structures, those that exhibit a lesser degree of hierarchy, tend to promote creativity, whereas organizations that have higher amounts of specialization, formality, standardization, and centralization inhibit creativity (Martins & Terblanche, 2003). The effects of rigid structure have also been shown to impede the organization members' attitudes toward divergent thinking (S. D. Williams, 2004).

Wise (2003) proposed for a multi-dimensional model (Table 2) to explain the differences in creativity between types of organizations, and it is valuable in understanding the type of creativity in advertising. The model is a matrix that crosses two dichotomous constructs: aesthetic versus technological creativity and creatively centered creativity versus creatively enhanced organizations. Aesthetic creativity is creativity that is judged on the basis of appearance or style. Technological creativity is judged on the basis of its function, such as the manner in which the technology delivers speed, efficacy, or efficiency. Technological creativity includes the development of such innovations as computer hardware and software, medical treatments, and communications systems. Creatively centered organizations constantly develop new products, whereas creatively enhanced organizations utilize the creative products of others.

	Technological Creativity Centered	Technological Creativity Enhanced
Aesthetic Creativity Centered	**Technical artists** Compete in industries requiring both technological and aesthetic creativity Examples: Video game and electronic toy development	**Artists** Compete in industries requiring high levels of aesthetic creativity. Technology is used, but not developed, by them Examples: Graphic design, music composition
Aesthetic Creativity Enhanced	**Inventors** Compete in industries requiring technological creativity. Reliant on aesthetic firms to provide "personality" for products and content for communication devices Examples: Electronic development, pharmaceutical research	**Distributors and Adaptors** Compete in industries involved in the distribution of creative products and services developed by other firms or, in some instances, the adaptation of relatively non-aesthetic or non-technical products Examples: Cable television service, retailing, wholesaling, travel, banking

Table 2: The Creative Imperative Model
(Wise, 2003)

28

The matrix produces descriptions of four types of organizations. The technical artist type creates both technologically and aesthetically in a centered manner, and a representative firm in this category is a video-game manufacturer. The inventor type focuses on technological creativity and only uses aesthetic creativity to establish an image or identity for their products. An example of an inventor-type organization would be a pharmaceutical manufacturer. The third type, distributors and adaptors, enhances the technological and aesthetic creativity of others to a greater or lesser degree. Companies of this type are neither technological nor creative innovators, and examples of this category would be banks, retailers and service providers. Finally, artist-type organizations use the technology of other firms to produce products that are judged on the basis of their aesthetic values. Examples of organizations in this category are greeting card companies, toy manufacturers, and interior designers. The structure of artist organizations is highly variable, from well-organized firms with specialized departments, to less-defined operations that specialize in customized creative products.

Advertising agencies fit the description of structure for technological creativity-enhanced, aesthetic creativity-centered organizations. While agencies commonly use graphic arts, computer and communication technologies that have been developed by other industries, they focus on the production of advertisements that convey novel, relevant and valuable selling messages. Wise's model is useful, because it establishes aesthetic creativity, which is highly affected by subjective values or norms, at the center of the advertising business.

Typically, advertising agencies are distinctly organized around five basic functions: creative, account management, media, research, and operations (Engel,

Warshaw, Kinnear, & Reece, 2000). Origination of the creative product (advertising) occurs within the creative department, which consists of copywriters and art directors, who typically collaborate in teams of one copywriter and one art director to complete a specific project (Hirschman, 1989). The use of teams by advertising agencies is consistent with the way in which organizations generally approach creativity (Mohrman, Cohen, & Mohrman, 1995), and there is extensive research on teams that work collaboratively on creative endeavors (Johar et al., 2001; John-Steiner, 2000; King & Anderson, 1990).

The responsibilities of each creative team member are generally divided between the copywriter, who typically focuses on the logic of the advertisement through the writing of text, and the art director, who designs the advertisement's visual appeal; however, both team members contribute substantially to the overall concept and to each other's work. The development of this dyadic structure of copywriter-art director teams has been attributed widely (Nixon, 2004; Wikipedia, 2006; C. E. Young, 2000) to William Bernbach (1911-1982), a leading advertising practitioner during the 1950s and 1960s, who realized the benefits of bringing together individuals from different creative disciplines; but the team structure has also been attributed to Leo Burnett (1891-1971), founder of the agency in Chicago, Illinois that bears his name (Rothenberg, 1998).

Each team typically works independently from other teams and is assigned to specific and separate client accounts for at least two reasons: The team gains the efficiency that comes from the familiarity of working continuously in one field, and the team develops a sense of proprietary control over the product have been shown to increase creativity (Amabile, 1996).

Creative teams receive input from the client through an agency's account managers (Capon & Scammon, 1979). Leadership of the creative development is provided by a creative director (D. C. West, 1993), who supervises the creative teams, plays an important role in determining the overall strategy, and is the first person (primary gatekeeper) to evaluate the product in terms of its creativity. The creative concept, however, is said to originate in the interaction of the team, but it is only deemed to be creative after the creative director and other management supervisors give their approval.

Mission

An organization's mission and shared vision has been called the source of creativity and innovation (Covey, 1993). Mission refers to the strategic goals of an organization, and similarly, vision is a "valued outcome which represents a higher order goal and a motivating force at work" (Anderson & West, 1998, p. 240). Vision is one of the primary factors of the Team Climate Inventory (TCI), and it has four sub-scales: clarity, commonality, attainability and value of the team's objectives. The influence of an organization's goals on innovation was supported in a review of the literature by Cummings and O'Connor (1978), who found that corporations encourage innovation by measuring performance against objectives and by conducting opportunistic surveillance. Mission also incorporates strategy, which is the general direction taken to achieve goals, and which Martins and Terblanche (2003) identified as a determinant of organizational culture. Advertising agencies use a mission and shared vision to direct employees toward achieving goals and to gain new business (Leo Burnett Agency, 2006; Push, 2005), but a qualitative study by Ensor, Cottam and Band (2001) found a disconnect between vision

31

and implementation, in that senior management of agencies generally think their employees have only a slight understanding of the corporate vision, which they attribute to rapid growth, structural change and changes in ownership. Agencies also differ in their missions, depending whether or not management desires to position the firm as an exceptionally creative organization, as one known for its strategic or business acumen, or as one known for service.

Resources

Resources of organizations include funds, materials, facilities, and information (Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby, & Herron, 1996). While sufficient resources have been often identified as beneficial for creativity (e.g., Coates & Jarratt, 1994; Woodman, Sawyer, & Griffin, 1993), testing of the KEYS diagnostic survey that measures organizational creativity showed that sufficient resources were not important in distinguishing between high- and low-level creative projects (Amabile, et al., 1996).

Climate

The literature on organizational climate is perhaps the richest in regards to the influencers of creativity. Organizational climate is defined as a set of perceptions that individuals develop about the organizational context to make sense of salient features, events, and processes (Kozlowski & Hults, 1987). Two types of climate have been shown to negatively influence creativity (Nijstad & Paulus, 2003): 1) climates that are characterized as restrictive, critical and untrusting; and 2) climates that are characterized as highly cohesive and harmonious. Climate that has been shown to positively influence creativity is characterized as critical but accepting of new ideas.

At least four instruments have been developed to measure climate and the correlations between its dimensions and creativity: KEYS (Amabile, et al., 1996); the Creativity Climate Questionnaire, also known as the Situational Outlook Questionnaire (Ekvall, 1996); the Team Climate Inventory (TCI) (Anderson & West, 1996); and the Siegel Scale of Support for Innovation (Siegel & Kaemmerer, 1978). Mathisen and Einarsen (2004) reviewed the instruments and concluded that only the KEYS and TCI instruments were scientifically sound, properly documented, and peer-reviewed.

Similar constructs to organizational climate that have been found to support creativity include a positive work atmosphere (Lapierre & Giroux, 2003); a high absorptive capacity, which is an organization's ability to recognize the value of new information, assimilate it, and utilize it for productive ends (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990); and openness, which is an organization's acceptance and integration of new ideas and change (e. g., Dollinger, Urban, & James, 2004; Johar et al., 2001; Martins & Terblanche, 2003; S. D. Williams, 2004).

Culture

Culture is the integrated pattern of collective human knowledge, beliefs, values and social structures (Merriam-Webster, 1988). Culture also has been defined as a system of publicly and collectively accepted meanings that operate for a given group at a given time, thus recognizing the situational nature of culture (Pettigrew, 1979). Organizations are cauldrons in which coincident meaning is constantly created and destroyed (Gray, Bougon, & Donnellon, 1985). The concept of culture has been applied widely to the study of organizations through studies of the symbolic nature of various elements, such as management, legends, stories, myths and ceremonies (Smircich, 1983).

The behavior of organizations can be better understood by examining its culture and the "shared assumptions that people bring to their environment" (Wilkins, 1983, p. 24). A person's fit within an organization's culture and subculture has been shown to affect that individual's job satisfaction (Adkins & Caldwell, 2004).

Rosen (1985) used a banal annual breakfast event held by an advertising agency to show the impact of cultural symbols on the conduct of its employees. Rosen concluded that, in much the same way as people within advertising agencies seek to influence audiences through the manipulation of advertising symbols, the symbolic messages "encoded and enacted through the breakfast...influence the practice of the members of Spiro and Associates themselves" (Rosen, 1985, p. 32).

Organizational culture also affects the creative process, as it establishes core values, central themes, and the way in which the organization's members view the outside competitive environment (Hennessey, 2003). Martins and Terblanche (2003) also conclude that organizational culture affects creativity, because members learn how to behave and how business should function, which leads well into the following discussion about social norms.

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Social Norms

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Definition

Social norms have been defined generally in two ways. Either social norms are thought to be moral imperatives of what people ought to do, regardless of the outcome, or social norms are seen as behavioral patterns that create social expectations (Hechter &

Opp, 2001). In other words, the debate about social norms is whether rules cause behavior, or whether behavior causes rules.

Ellickson (2001), on one hand, viewed social norms as rules that govern behavior through social sanctions that reward compliance and punish deviance. Fine (2001), on the other hand, took the opposite perspective of norms resulting from certain behaviors that emerge through a socialization process. People, who actively create culture, create norms for others to follow. "The student of social norms begins with the relation between the social world and the cultural object, recognizing that norms exist in the social space. To understand how norms emerge requires the incorporation of the cultural creator as a normative entrepreneur" (Fine, 2001, p. 142).

Another contrasting definition is that social norms are either arbitrary or purposeful. Theorists, who come from an anthropological background, tend to see norms as arbitrary and random rules for behavior that happen to be valued or reinforced by the culture (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). In short, any behavior can become codified into a social norm. On the other hand, other theorists argue that social norms have specific reasons to exist, because they are tied to successful behaviors (Schaller & Latane, 1996). This purposeful perspective suggests that those norms, which are no longer useful, will die out with a change in generations.

Social norms also have been categorized as descriptive, injunctive or subjective (Cialdini & Trost, 1998) and perceived or collective (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Descriptive norms are based on observations of what other people do in a given situation. The more that people respond in a similar manner, the more other people perceive the behavior to be appropriate, and the more the behavior will be adopted (Thibaut & Kelley,

1959). Injunctive norms are rules for behavior, based on what should be done, such as helping others (Batson, 1998). Subjective norms are what people believe they should do, based upon their perception of what other people, who are important to them, want them to do (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Lapinski's definition of perceived norms is virtually the same as that for subjective norms, as perceived norms are those that operate at the individual level; in contrast to collective norms, which serve as codes of conduct for a society.

Consistent with the two alternative manners in which social norms are characterized as either rules or behavior, social norms may be top-down processes, in which case they tend to be formalized. On the other hand, social norms are examples of shared-unit properties that emerge from the experiences, attitudes, perceptions, values, cognitions and behaviors of group members. They become active within organizations as members interact through processes of attraction, selection, attrition, socialization, and leadership to form a collective and consensually-based aspect that reflects the whole system (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000).

Dimensions

Social norms are typically described in the literature using three dimensions: oughtness or strength, consensus, and conditionality.

Oughtness is the term used for the sense that there is an established standard for behavior that members of the social system should perform (Cialdini & Trost, 1998), and oughtness is a common dimension in most definitions of social norms (Hechter & Opp, 2001). One instrument for the measurement of oughtness is the Norms Diagnostic Index that has been developed to evaluate organizational norms for performance, job

involvement, training, leader-subordinate relations, policies, confrontation, and climate (Allen & Dyer, 1980). Large variances have been found in the strength of social norms depending on behavior. Norms for speaking and walking have a low degree of oughtness, while norms for disciplining children produce strong concern and disagreement (Jackson, 1965). The social aspect of the oughtness construct is evident, as research has shown that people tend to overestimate the prevalence of social norms for topics, such as drinking (Maddock & Glanz, 2005), tobacco (Ott & Doyle, 2005), and health (Campo, Cameron, Brossard, & Fraser, 2004).

For social norms to exist, the content of these norms must be shared with others (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). This implies a measure of consensus: the degree to which the members in the group all share the same norms, such as for the use of force by police officers (Langbein & Jorstad, 2004) and for decision making in work groups (Bettenhausen & Murnigham, 1985). The Organizational Culture Inventory (OCI) measures consensus in regards to 12 different norms that describe an organization's culture: helpfulness, affiliation, approval, conventionality, dependency, avoidance, confrontation, power, competition, competence, achievement and self-actualization (Cooke & Rousseau, 1988).

Most norms are conditional (Hechter & Opp, 2001) in that while a norm generally may be operant, there is a degree to which it may apply. For example, a physician may promise to follow the norm of always telling the truth, but he or she may decide to suspend the rule if a patient has cancer and telling that patient the truth would prompt the patient to commit suicide (Opp, 2001). In an ethnographic examination of the culture of people who pick wild mushrooms, Fine (2001) reported how norms for harvesting were

situational, dependent on the amount of competition, degree of association, social status, experience, and physical space of the participants. Conditionality, however, does not imply there are never unconditional situations. A norm, such as one requiring a man to only be married to one woman, leaves no room for conditionality or ambiguity (Kanazawa & Still, 2001).

Purposes of Social Norms

Social norms are used by people to achieve three goals: to make their actions more effective, to build and maintain social relationships, and to manage their self image (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Which goal becomes operative depends on the salience of the particular goal. Moderators of norms include the degree to which expectations of a beneficial outcome outweigh the cost of pursuing a behavior, the degree to which an individual identifies with his or her reference group, and the degree of ego involvement (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Hence, social norms provide valuable benefits not only to the organization but also to the individual.

Influence of Social Norms

The construct of a social norm is the critical component in the theory of reasoned action (Figure 4), which asserts that the tendency of a person to act in a particular manner is determined by the person's attitude toward the behavior and by that person's perception, called a subjective norm, about what significant other people think in regard to that person performing the action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Evidence that social norms are very powerful influencers of behavior goes back to the classic experiment of Asch (1951), who demonstrated how the opinions of others affected the judgments of
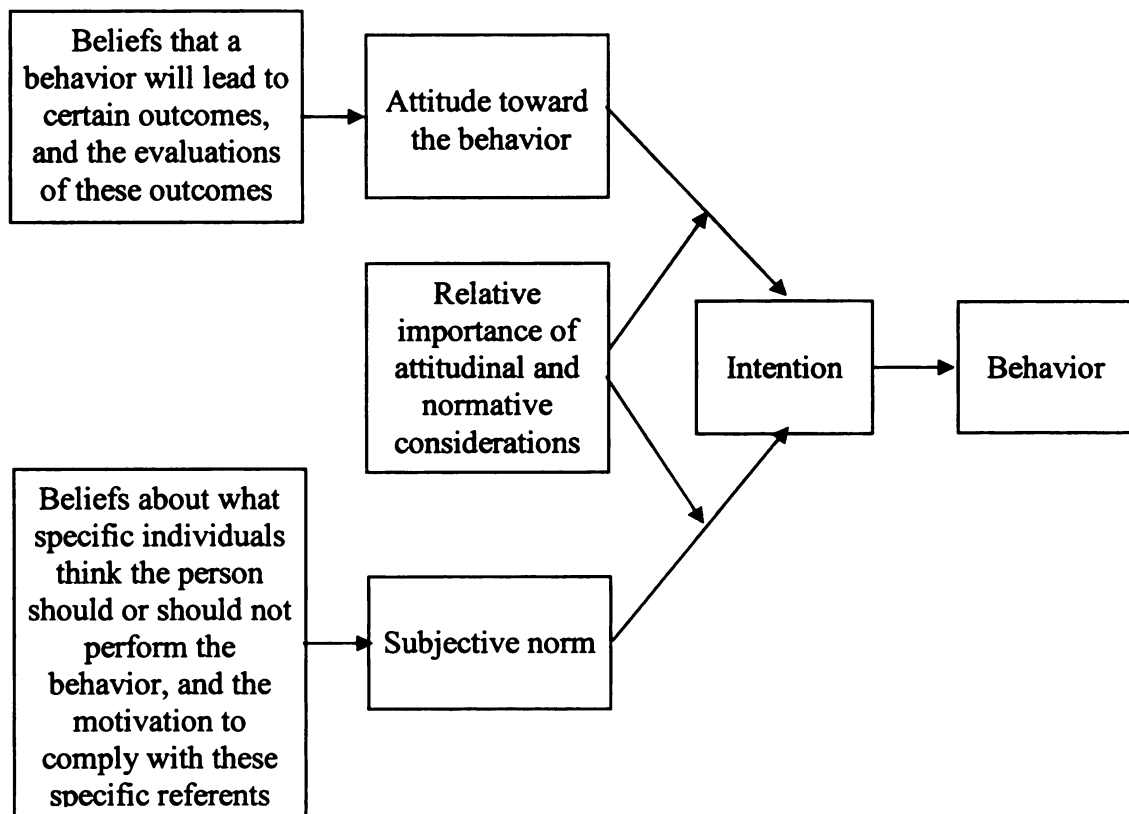
Figure 4: Theory of Reasoned Action
(Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980)

subjects who were asked to pick the longest of three lines. More recently, social norms have been studied within the context of tax evasion (Wenzel, 2004), library behavior (Aarts, Dijksterhuis, & Custers, 2003), cross-gender friendships (Felmlee, 1999), and tipping waiters at restaurants (Azar, 2005). The conclusion here is that the study of social norms is important and continues as a strong interest of social scientists today.

Sanctions

People in organizations often adhere to social norms—because they intrinsically believe the salient norms will help achieve a goal, build relationships with other people, or maintain their self image (Cialdini & Trost, 1998)—but social norms are more likely to be maintained by external sanctions (Horne, 2001). These sanctions may be positive, as in the bestowing of rewards for compliance, or they may be negative, as in the delivery of punishment for deviant behavior (Coleman, 1990). Therefore, social norms for creativity in advertising agencies can also be expected to be enforced through a system of sanctions. Positive reinforcement could be given to the individual or creative team by presenting their work to a client or by providing other rewards, such as bonuses, raises, promotions, and important new assignments. Possible sanctions for not producing advertising materials that meet norms for creativity could include a critical performance review, not showing the ad to the client, removal from the account, a low or no salary increase, and ultimately termination of employment. It is expected that that there will be a positive relationship between the perception of the strength of social norms and an enforcement system.

Social Norms and the Workplace

Social norms are specific to the situation and the people who interact within it (Handel, 1979), and therefore, social norms are important to any study of the workplace. Regulative or injunctive norms have been identified as common types of norms in work situations (Therborn, 2002). Social information, including information about normative values, comes from other people in the immediate work environment, such as co-workers and supervisors (Griffin, 1983). Social norms contribute to an enhancement of productive behavior in the workplace (Langbein & Jorstad, 2004), and to employees' perceptions toward their work and their overall job satisfaction (O'Reilly & Caldwell, 1985). Not all social norms are beneficial, however, as Jehn (1995) showed that norms for openness in discussing conflict did not improve the work groups' abilities to manage disagreements constructively.

The influence of *social norms* in the workplace can be traced back to such famous studies as the "Hawthorne Research" that showed the power of social relationships among assembly workers at the Western Electric Company (Homans, 1941). Later, Roy (1954) portrayed the positive side of social norms in a qualitative study of a machine shop, where employees developed their own social norms to gain some sense of control over their working conditions. More recently, Edmonson (1999) reported that social norms for psychological safety were associated positively with learning; Edwards (2005) called for more investigation into the social norm against discussing salaries at work; and Jabs (2005) found that social norms for communication were important to organizational decision making. Social norms for conformity operate through two mechanisms: acceptance, which occurs when individuals adopt and express normative opinions, and

compliance, which occurs when individuals act without internal agreement (Sheldon, 1999). Social norms for competition have been viewed as restricting creativity (Amabile, 1996; Hennessey, 2000), but advertising agencies commonly view the use of competing teams on an assignment to be positive, as competition increases the number of alternatives and taps the competitive drive of creative individuals (D. C. West, 1993). Social norms for conflict and the manner in which it is resolved have a significant impact on creativity (Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian, 1999; Amabile, et al., 1996). Within agency organizations, creative teams are at fundamental odds with account managers, as copywriters and art directors value their work intrinsically for its artistic expression and extrinsically for its career-advancement potential; as opposed to managers, who tend to value advertising more for its strategic utility (Vanden Bergh et al., 1986). Conflict is also present inside agency teams, as writers tend to be more concerned about relevance, believability, and persuasiveness than art directors, who tend to focus on visual style, originality and attention-getting power of the advertisement (C. E. Young, 2000).

Social Norms for Creativity

In an ethnographic investigation of the culture inside creative departments of British advertising agencies, Sean Nixon noted that "advertising has occupied an important place within these diverse accounts of economic and cultural change and represented a particularly visible marker of the dynamism of commercial society" (Nixon, 2004, p. 3). Nixon further noted that there was a significant void in the literature, relative to the culture of firms that create the advertising agents of influence, and he stated that "opening up the informal cultures and subjective identities of advertising practitioners is an indispensable part of an adequate account of the commercial practices performed by

advertising agencies." (p. 5) This led Nixon to conclude that "the meanings, values and normative assumptions written into their occupational cultures will be important in mediating the process of reaching out to and connecting with consumers" (p. 5). Hence, there is a strong connection between social norms and creativity.

Definition

For what is thought to be the first time in any known literature, social norms for creativity (SNC) is defined here as what people in groups or organizations believe is and is not creative in relation to the group's work or output. As norms, these socially acceptable ideas about creativity shape the creative process from the very beginning. They serve as pre-existing conditions or guideposts for what will be accepted or rejected later by the field, as it passes judgment on the product of the creative endeavor. Social norms for creativity serve as goals for what creators want to achieve, and they serve as standards against which creators monitor their own progress and the production of others within the organization. Like other social norms, social norms for creativity are thought to be highly situational and dependent on the collective values of people in an organization. At the same time, social norms for creativity also respond to external trends and fashions from the greater environment, such as the relevant and salient expressions of creative behavior by other people in the industry.

There is no standard definition of social norms (Hechter and Opp, 2000), and defining social norms for creativity in advertising more specifically is even harder because of their complexity. Social norms for creativity are much more difficult to pin down than other social norms. For example, to examine social norms for smoking, researchers asked people about their perception of the rate of smoking among the

population and compared these perceptions to actual behavior (Ott & Doyle, 2005). The social norm for smoking was simply the degree to which smoking was perceived favorably. Social norms for creativity, however, are much more multi-dimensional and conditional.

At the strategic level, a social norm for creativity in advertising may be that the advertisement must be surprising, smart, or edgy. For example, the marketing communication firm, Push, of Orlando, Florida, stated that its expectations of creativity are that advertising should be unexpected, clear and fearless (Push, 2005). It may be that the social system within an advertising agency's creative department believes that good advertising is more visually driven than copy driven, more emotional than logical. It may be that advertising must be humorous or have some sort of visual pun. At a more tactical level, social norms for creativity may include techniques, such as the style of layouts, preferences for photos over illustrations, or favored typographical fonts. A normative belief in an agency may be that jingles, simple songs used in radio commercials to quickly communicate an advertising slogan or a brand name, are antiquated and therefore not a norm for creativity.

For the purposes of this dissertation, however, social norms for creativity in advertising shall be defined as what those within the creative department perceive are the common (jointly-held) values for what is and what is not creative. This definition is limited to higher order standards, as opposed to including styles or techniques, because a complete topology of social norms is beyond the scope and purpose of this dissertation. Examples may include values, such as unexpected, surprising, smart, edgy, breakthrough;

but, operationally, the common values shall be specifically self-defined by the participants in the research, as will be explained in the methods section.

Note that the definition specifies what is not creative, as well as what is creative. This is intentional, because both conditions are necessary to cover the totality of the social norms for creativity. An agency may have the norm that unexpectedness defines what is creative; but the description would be incomplete, if it left out norms against slice-of-life commercials (television advertisements that portray real-life experiences).

If advertising creativity is confined to the individual level of analysis, what is creative and what is not could be entirely idiosyncratic. A common expression in the advertising industry is "I don't know what is creative, but I can tell it, when I see it." This declaration may reinforce the novel component of creativity; but creativity in advertising goes beyond idiosyncrasies. Advertising agencies are organizations, like any other, and they are not immune to the social forces that shape the output of their creativity. In keeping with the emergent nature of social norms, social norms for creativity are thought to be primarily developed informally through the day-to-day interactions of people in the creative department; however, social norms for creativity in advertising also may be formally expressed through an agency brochure or Web site that states a creative philosophy and presents the agency's creative principles to prospective clients (e. g., Leo Burnett Agency, 2006; Push, 2005).

From a literature review, perhaps the nearest that another author comes to considering the construct of social norms for creativity, as defined here, is in a presentation about how creative results develop through the process of managing constraints (Stokes, 2006). The assertion of the argument is that creators (artists,

architects, writers, fashion designers, musicians, advertising copywriters, and advertising art directors) must be aware of the conventions in their field (what is creative and what is not), and then these individuals breakthrough those constraints by generating opposing alternative concepts. For example, the artists, Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso grew up in a world where representational painting was the norm and they became masters of it; however in their desire to reach higher levels of creativity, they broke the standard of painting from one point of view. Braque and Picasso painted the objects they saw from multiple points of view, and as a result, they led the Cubist movement that revolutionized the way people looked at art (Stokes, 2006).

The paradox of social norms for creativity is that creators do not reject these conventions; they accept them; because what is creative and what is not creative are socially critical to success. When the two aspects of creativity, as both novel and appropriate, are considered (Amabile, 1996), it is understandable how creativity can be viewed as a bounded process affected by social norms. Social norms for creativity are also useful, because people are generally most creative when they are given a high creativity goal or standard to achieve (Shalley, 1991).

When discussing social norms for creativity, it is important not to confound the concept with others. Ensor, Cottam, & Band (2001) studied factors in the agency work environment and concluded that advertising agencies in the United Kingdom lacked many extrinsic constraints and norms for conformity, which are typically found in other business organizations. The lack of norms for conformity must not be confused with a lack of norms for creativity, because the two constructs are quite different. While agencies may not have social norms for conformity in terms of organizational behavior,

they are expected by this research to have strong social norms for creativity that define the range of acceptable creativity in their production of advertising.

Another issue that has been discussed in the development of this dissertation is whether or not social norms for creativity are supporting or controlling. This notion appears in the componential model of creativity (Amabile, 1996), which categorizes external socio-environmental factors into two groups: those that support autonomy, competence or task involvement, and those that connote control. The position taken here is that social norms for creativity are always limiting, in that they shape the process; but they are not inherently positive or negative, supporting or controlling. For example, does the social norm for creativity that advertising should be more emotional than logical increase or decrease the number or quality of the response-generation stage of the creative process? This research takes the position that the answer is neither, as the social norm only will shape the process by altering the content of the alternatives produced.

Dimensions

As social norms, social norms for creativity can be measured by their level of oughtness, consensus and flexibility. Oughtness implies a measure of strength, and the question can be asked to what degree to group members hold the values for what is and is not creative. This paper argues that advertising agencies should be repositories of a strong set of social norms. As advertising agencies are highly social organizations and are motivated to have a consistent set of social norms for creativity (T. Williams, 2005), it is expected that agencies will exhibit a high degree of consensus among fellow employees, who will perceive that other share their values. Likewise, agencies may have the global normative value that its creative product should be unexpected, but agencies

produce advertising for a wide variety of clients and products under diverse and dynamic

sets of conditions. Situations in advertising have been described differences in creative

strategy (Duncan, 2005), creative tactics (Beltramini & Blasko, 1986; Goldenberg,

Mazursky, & Solomon, 1999) and formats (Duncan, 2005; Moriarity, 1991). Therefore,

agencies are expected to have a high degree of flexibility in regard to their use of social

norms for creativity.

Other Research

Typically, when social creativity researchers have mentioned social norms or

other factor in relationship to creativity, they do so in the context of examining the

<u>orientation</u> of an organization and the manner in which it fosters creative behavior among

its employees or members (e.g. Amabile, et al 1996; Oldham and Cummings, 1996). The

question is: how can an organization promote more creativity? Typically, answers fall

into two categories: either those encouraging creativity by providing support, or those

presenting new information and knowledge to trigger new solutions (Madjar, 2005). The

more fundamental issue of understanding how individuals limit their alternatives by

defining what is and isn't creative is noticeably absent.

Creativity-based studies have shown evaluating ideas according to various

standards may occur as an integral part of the generative stage (Lubart, 2000-2001) or as

a distinct process after the initial concept has been conceived (Mumford, Lonergan, &

Scott, 2002). Post-evaluations have been shown to be split between innovative criteria,

such as originality (Runco & Basadur, 1990), and operative criteria, such as performance

(Cardinal & Hatfield, 2000). While not specifically addressing social norms, Lonergan,

Scott and Mumford (2004) found that better revisions to less original advertising

campaigns were obtained when they evaluated with innovative criteria, and better revisions to more original campaigns were obtained when they were evaluated with operating criteria.

When research to date in the academy of advertising discusses interpretations of what is or is not creativity, the conclusions are primarily contingent upon the functional roles that people play in the process rather than upon social norms. Koslow, Sasser, and Riodan (2003) determined that creativity was predictable based upon artistry and originality, if the respondents were from creative departments, and based upon originality and strategic value, if the respondents were from account management. This dichotomy in viewpoints basically supported previous research by Hirschman (1989), who found that account managers judge creativity pragmatically, and creative professionals value artistic expression. This research, however, attempts to move beyond structural roles as a determinant of creativity by examining the fundamental nature of social norms.

Social Norms and Motivation

The salient and relevant question here is how social norms affect motivation. Actually, this is bifurcated into two subsidiary questions: How do social norms affect intrinsic motivation, a person's desire to engage in an activity for its own sake? And how do social norms affect extrinsic motivation, a person's desire to engage in an activity for reasons outside of the task itself?

Although Amabile (1996) never specifically addressed social norms in her investigation of motivation and creativity, her research on socio-environmental factors supports two conclusions. First, social norms that "support one's sense of competence or enable one's deeper involvement with the task itself" (p. 118) have a positive effect on

intrinsic motivation and promote creativity, while social norms that control the process

have a negative effect. Second, when the need for novelty is high, for example in the

problem identification and response-generation stages of the creative process, social

norms will retard the process. On the other hand, when novelty is less important, such as

in the stages of preparation and response validation, social norms facilitate completing

the job in an appropriate manner (Amabile, 1996).

The link between social norms and motivation is strengthened by additional

research. In a cross-cultural study of employees in the United States, Japan and Hungary,

intrinsic motivation depended not only on personal qualities, but also on external social

norms of the national culture (Peterson & Ruiz-Quintanilla, 2003). Social norms have

also been found to be motivations for tax compliance in Australian citizens (Wenzel,

2005), sexual activity in Latina adolescents (Flores, Tschann, & Marin, 2002), fruit

consumption among African-American males (Moser, Green, Weber, & Doyle, 2005),

and sharing information among work groups (D. Burgess, 2005).

A Study of Social Norms for Creativity

This study examined the nature of social norms for creativity and their effect on

the creative process in advertising by testing a model (Figure 5), based upon the

componential model of creativity (Amabile, 1996).This test may have been the first test

of the componential model in the advertising industry. The proposed model for this study

used the componential model's five-step sequence to represent the creative process and to

show how the intrapersonal processes of task motivation and the external social effects

(limited in this study to social norms for creativity) affect the process. The five-steps of

the creative process in the componential model are used, rather than the steps in Young's
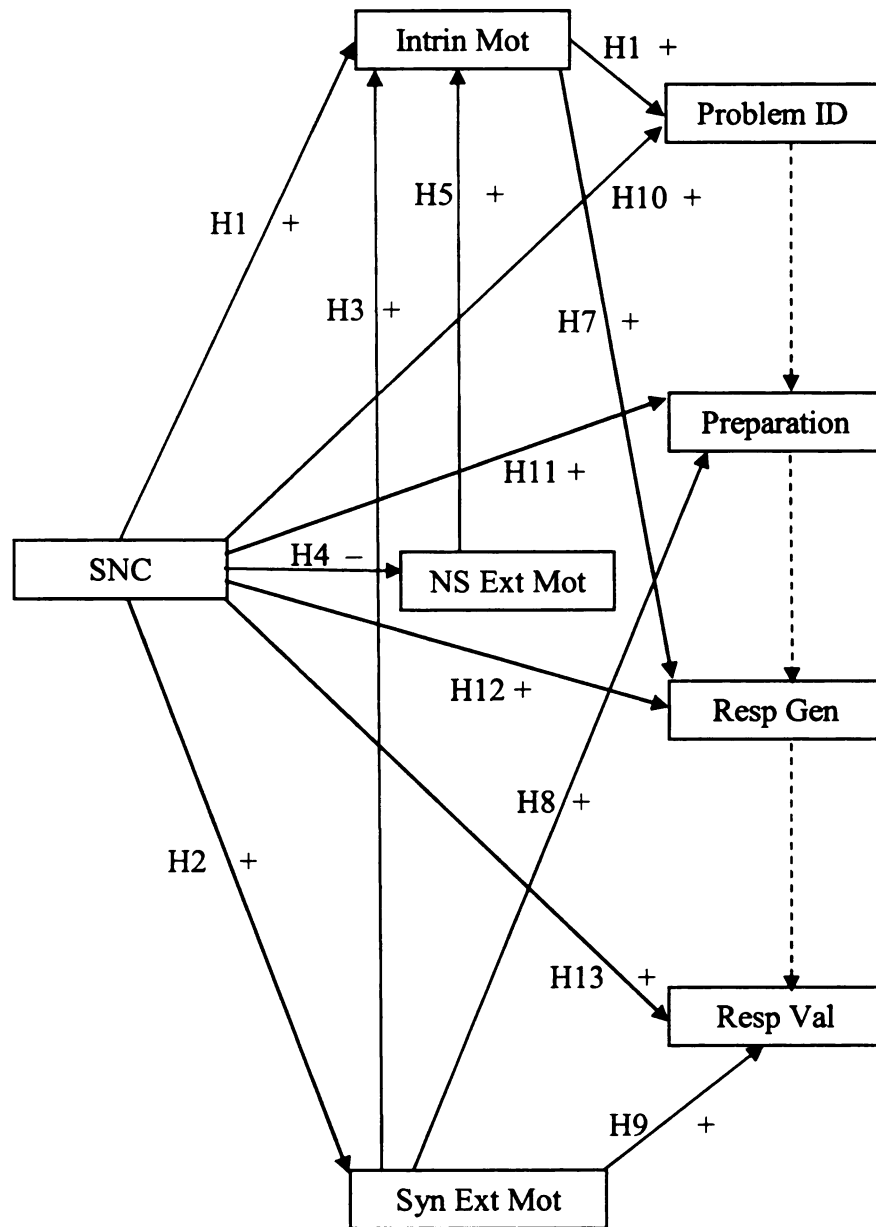
Figure 5: Model of the Creative Process with Social Norms for Creativity

Note: Dotted lines "indicate the steps in the creative process where large variations in the sequence are possible," and therefore, no predictions were made. (Amabile, 1996, p. 112).

advertising process model (ingestion, digestion, incubation, illumination and verification), because the componential model has been tested, and because the incubation and illumination steps are readily explained by information and motivation processes in the componential model (Amabile, 1996).

The proposed model is different from the original componential model, because the social influences on intrapersonal motivation, that were split between supporting and controlling factors in a detail of the model (Figure 2), have been combined into one factor: social norms for creativity. This research takes the perspective, consistent with the position advanced by Stokes (2006), that social norms are always controlling in that they, by definition, restrict or limit the process, and that the influence is not an either-or effect. In other words, rather than using the paradigm that social norms for creativity support or control the process, this study adopts the paradigm that social norms for creativity support by controlling the process. In eliminating the supporting and controlling duality of the social force, the new model also transfers the valence of the external social factor, which is not inherently positive or negative, to the individual, who may react to them in a positive or negative manner.

Hypotheses for the effects of social norms for creativity on motivation

It was expected that social norms for creativity would be viewed positively, because they would be seen to providing direction to the creative task and enabling deeper involvement (Amabile, 1996). Therefore:

H1: Social norms for creativity were predicted to have a positive relationship with intrinsic motivation.

Further, in keeping with the positive effect of social norms:

H2: As social norms for creativity increase, synergistic extrinsic

motivation also was expected to increase.

This positive effect of social norms for creativity on synergistic extrinsic

motivation should also extend to intrinsic motivation. Therefore:

H3: As synergistic extrinsic motivation increase, intrinsic

motivation also was expected to increase.

As social norms for creativity were expected to be viewed positively, they should

reduce the impact of controlling influences. Therefore:

H4: As social norms for creativity increase, nonsynergistic

extrinsic motivation was predicted to decrease.

A decrease in nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation should have a positive effect on

intrinsic motivation.

H5: As nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation decreases, intrinsic

motivation should increase.

Hypotheses for the effects of motivation on the creative process

The effects of intrinsic motivation were predicted to be the same as established

with the componential model of creativity (Amabile, 1996). Therefore:

H6: As intrinsic motivation increases, the perceived ability to

identify the creative problem (Step 1) was predicted to

increase.

H7: As intrinsic motivation increases, the perceived ability to

generate responses (Step 3) was predicted to increase.

Similarly, the effects of synergistic extrinsic motivation were predicted to be the same as in the componential model of creativity (Amabile, 1996). Therefore:

H8: As synergistic extrinsic motivation increases, the perceived ability to be well prepared (Step 2) should increase.

H9: As synergistic extrinsic motivation increases, the perceived ability to evaluate the creative alternatives (Step 4) should increase.

Hypotheses for the effects of social norms for creativity on the creative process

A key difference in the proposed model is that it predicts social norms for creativity will influence the creative process directly, rather that only through the three intrapersonal moderators of motivation. Amabile (1996) reported mixed results as to whether or not social norms had such a direct influence, and the original componential model does not show any linkage. It should be noted, however, that Amabile stated as a caveat that only direct and primary influences were portrayed in the model, but the depicted paths are indicative of its focus on psychological motivation, which has been criticized as a limitation of the componential model (Csikszentmihalyi, 1984). To be more complete and more socially oriented, the model also needs to show that social-environmental forces, such as social norms for creativity, affect the five-step creative process directly.

This change requires a multi-level model (Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian, 1999; Woodman et al., 1993) to account for the collaborative creativity of individuals working together within groups. The proposed model herein is a multi-level model, in that it suggests social norms for creativity affect the process individually and through the social

interactions of group members. For simplicity's sake, the proposed model only shows one individual and the lines of influence. Assume that other individuals, who are collaborating with the individual shown, also interact with the process in a similar manner at the same time.

In this study, social norms for creativity were examined for their effect on the first four stages of the creative process. Examining the impact on the fifth step of creative outcomes would have required content analysis of an advertising agency's output, which is beyond the scope of this study. The first step in the creative process of problem identification is most concerned with specifying or describing the situation or the need of the advertising assignment. Social norms were expected to constrict the definition of the problem. Therefore:

> H10: As social norms for creativity increase, their perceived limits
>
> on the definition of the problem should increase.

The second or preparation step of the creative process is concerned with, as Amabile described it, reactivating relevant information from memory or acquiring new information from outside sources (Amabile, 1996); or as Young described it, examining the information, thinking about the task, and letting the subconscious mind mull over possible solutions (J. W. Young, 1940). In relation to this study, social norms for creativity were expected to direct or restrict the way creative professionals think about the problem, and therefore:

> H11: As social norms for creativity increase, their perceived effect
>
> on preparation should increase.

Further, as social norms are limitations, they were expected to preclude certain avenues of creativity in the development of advertising. Therefore:

> H12: As social norms for creativity increase, the recalled number
>
> of concepts generated should decrease.

As stated earlier, social norms for creativity are thought of as positive influences that may assist in the evaluation of advertising during the response validation stage. Social norms can provide standards or goals to achieve, and they can serve as guideposts for what the field may be expected to accept as what is and is not creative. Therefore:

> H13a: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived
>
> overall quality of the advertising should also increase.

Creative professionals have been shown to evaluate advertising in similar but different ways (Koslow et al., 2003). Both art directors and copywriters tend to think advertising is creative, if it is original. Therefore:

> H13b: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived
>
> originality of the ads should also increase.

Still, there are evaluative differences between the art and copy sides of the business. On one hand, art directors tend to think advertising is creative, if it is original <u>and</u> exhibits attention-getting power. Therefore:

> H13c: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived
>
> attention-getting power should also increase.

On the other hand, copywriters tended to think advertising is creative, if it is original, <u>and</u> if it exhibits relevance, believability, and persuasive power. Therefore, the following hypotheses were made:

H13d: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived

relevance of the advertising should also increase.

H13e: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived

believability of the advertising should also increase.

H13f: As social norms for creativity increase, the perceived

persuasive power of the advertising should also increase.

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Delimitations

Social norms may be examined at more than one level (Drazin et al., 1999).

Much of the organization and creativity literature discusses social norms as collective-

level effects on an organization's orientation or fundamental nature (e.g., Amabile, 1997;

Amabile et al., 1996; Coates & Jarratt, 1994; Woodman et al., 1993). Focusing on social

norms for creativity at the collective level leads to an external orientation that examines

an organization's creativity in terms of its ability to influence direction toward a goal.

The more an organization promotes a creative environment and encourages creative

thinking and behavior, the better and more creative its solutions will be in terms of

processes and output.

Social norms, however, also operate at the inter-subjective level, which is the

level of relationships "between two or more individuals that represents shared frames of

reference" (Drazin et al., 1999, p. 292). Focusing on social norms for creativity at the

inter-subjective level leads to an internal orientation that is more relevant to examining

what is and is not an appropriate expression of creativity. At best, social norms may

direct and, at worst, may restrict creativity by altering the format and content of ideas,

which are presented to the greater group for further consideration. This dissertation

concentrates on this inter-subjective level of social norms, because it is more useful in understanding the intra-organizational creative process relevant to advertising.

This study also was delimited by investigating creativity as a process that occurs within the structure of an advertising agency organization with an established creative department. This delimitation eliminated advertising produced by small entrepreneurial advertising agencies where the predominant norms would tend to represent idiosyncratic beliefs, rather than socially representative norms. This delimitation also eliminated advertising that is produced internally within corporations, which may be important to study in its own right; but these organizations are primarily focused on producing goods and services, and investigations into creativity within corporate organizations are typically at the collective level. By focusing on agencies with established creative departments, this study is positioned within the mainstream of the advertising agency business.

Social norms are part of the culture of an organization (Wilson, 1997), and organizations have been shown to have not only a dominant culture but also a number of subcultures, which are "a natural byproduct of the tendency of organizations toward differentiation by level and function" (Cooke & Rousseau, 1988, p. 249). A subculture is defined as " a subset of an organization's members who interact regularly with each other, identify themselves as a distinct group within the organization, share a set of problems, and routinely take action on the basis of collective understandings unique to the group" (Van Maanen & Barley). Advertising agencies can be described by a number of subcultures (e. g., Hirschman, 1989; Vanden Bergh et al., 1986), and creative departments certainly fit the definition of a subculture (Rosen, 1985). Therefore, this

study was further delimited by its examination of social norms for creativity within the confines and context of the subculture that exists within creative departments of advertising agencies. This study would be short sighted, however, if it did not recognize that advertising creativity exists in many areas of advertising agencies (El-Murad & West, 2004). Account managers may develop highly creative strategies; media planners and buyers may develop and implement creative media strategies; and production departments may add their creativity to the execution of approved advertisements.

This research chose to focus on social norms for creativity within the subculture of creative departments for several reasons. First, creative departments, as the originator of creative work, are the primary sources of social norms for creativity; and second, because analyzing social norms for creativity at the inter-departmental level would only lead to the study of well-established and extensively researched conflict between account service and creative personnel (e. g., Kovar & Goldberg, 1995; Tinkham et al., 1987), which is an expected result of organizational differentiation (Cooke & Rousseau, 1988). The purpose of this research was to move beyond inter-departmental differences to understand the fundamental nature of how social norms interact with the process of creativity as and where it occurs within the subculture of creative departments.

Limitations and Assumptions

This study of social norms was limited by an ontological assumption in regard to reality. Some authors have found a discrepancy between operating and perceived social norms. This research, however, took the constructivist perspective (Guba & Lincoln, 1998) that assumes ontological relativism. Reality is socially determined with multiple and conflicting interpretations that depend on the individuals and groups involved in its

construction. Jabs (2005) revealed four hidden communication rules, by analyzing retrospective discourse of the investigation into the explosion of the Challenger space shuttle, and concluded that greater awareness of norms for communication may improve decision making. Berrey (1988) argued that social norms for language below the level of awareness of corporate managers influenced their hiring practices. Lapinski and Rimal (2005), as mentioned above, distinguish between perceived and collective norms, and argue that perceived norms cannot be aggregated to obtain group-level data. Perceived social norms have also been found to be incorrect interpretations of behavior that could be altered through increased awareness (Ott & Doyle, 2005).

Creativity in advertising is a standard that is difficult to achieve, and this study also made the assumption that not all advertising is creative. Not all advertising meets the criteria of novelty, usefulness and value (Amabile, 1996). Much of advertising is purely functional, especially in the retail sector, as it typically only communicates the availability or price of a product or service. Other advertising may be derivative, in that creative ideas, formats, and even specific wording and illustrations have been suggestively or expressly based on previous work. Other advertising may be strategically appropriate but lacking in interest and imagination. For example, the created commercial character, Mr. Whipple, convinced millions of people to buy Charmin bathroom tissues for many years, because the tissues were "squeezably soft," yet the advertising campaign was widely criticized for its lack of creativity (see Sullivan, 2003). Still other advertisements may attract high amounts of attention with arresting images and unusual ideas, but they may not be viewed as creative, because these ads do not develop

meaningful connections with consumers (Steel, 1998), who are the equivalent to the field,

as previously discussed in the systemic theory of creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Research Design

This research took the naturalist position that the study of advertising creativity could be best accomplished by studying professional practitioners in the field, where advertising creativity has been recognized to exist. Student samples have no credibility in this regard. Further, an experimental study would not have been appropriate, because it would have been artificial to ask a number of professionals to produce an ad for evaluation outside of the social norms of their agency's environment; and limits of time for this dissertation precluded a longitudinal study. Therefore, this research used a cross-sectional survey to achieve an exploratory understanding of social norms for creativity within advertising agencies. The survey was conducted using the Internet as a rapid-response, cost-efficient, data-collection tool. The use of the Internet also made it easier for respondents to complete the survey, because they could enter their answers electronically and did not have to mail a reply.

Sample

The sampling frame was advertising agencies in the United States. This study used a cluster sampling method (Babbie, 1998) of targeting art directors and copywriters currently employed by these agencies. The total population of art directors and copywriters is unknown. There are about 5,000 advertising agencies in the United States (LexisNexis, 2006), and they were selected to be included in the sample using two criteria. First, agencies were chosen if they were listed among the top 200 advertising agencies for 2004, as published in a table in the *Advertising Red Book*, agency edition

(LexisNexis, 2006). These 200 agencies represent the bulk of the advertising business with approximately $8.159 billion in total gross income (calculated from a table of the top 200 agency brands, LexisNexis, 2006). These well-established agencies employ large groups of art directors and copywriters, which could be expected to have social norms and which could easily provide respondents for this research. Second, 400 additional advertising agencies were chosen to be included in the sample, if they had billings between $10 and $50 million, if their listing in the *Red Book* indicated the presence of a creative department, usually through the listing of a creative director, and if an e-mail address was provided for either a president or creative director. These smaller-sized agencies were added to increase the total response to the survey and to promote the diversity of the agency population.

Procedures

Creative directors at the selected agencies were contacted by mail, telephone or e-mail (Appendix 1) to obtain their support for the study. They were asked to distribute a message to their creative staff that provided the Internet address for the study and encouraged the staff to participate. Follow-up e-mails were sent approximately one week later to creative directors of non-responsive agencies to increase response levels (Appendix 1). No incentive was offered, other than providing participants with a copy of the general results.

A pretest was conducted to a limited sample to expose potential problems in the survey. The participants in the pretest were excluded from the full study. The pretest sought to uncover any problems with understanding the questions or difficulty in completing the online questionnaire. No problems or difficulties were reported.

The returned responses were tabulated automatically using the Web Surveyor computer software program on the resident computer server equipment in the Department of Advertising, Public Relations and Retailing's offices at Michigan State University, and the information was downloaded to the researcher's computer for analysis.

Instrument

The survey instrument (Appendix 2) had three sections: 1) measures of social norms for creativity (SNC) and their affect on the creative process; 2) measures of intrinsic, nonsynergistic extrinsic, and synergistic extrinsic motivation; and 3) demographic and contact information.

Subjective Measures

There were eight variables in this study that were measured with multi-item scales to obtain an estimation of the constructs. The item numbers in the text below correspond to the question numbers in the instrument.

Social Norms for Creativity (Independent Variable)

As social norms are situational and perceived, this variable was measured by asking respondents three open-ended questions: what he or she thought most everyone in the agency thinks represents creativity in advertising (1), what he or she thought most everyone in the agency thinks does not represent creativity in advertising (8), and what he or she thought most everyone in the agency thinks represents a creative layout (15). The purpose of using these three sets of questions was to triangulate social norms and increase the study's reliability. Including a technique-driven definition (creative layout) to contrast with the two primary value-driven definitions provided a check of the construct's validity.

Each of the three definitions of social norms for creativity was measured by items to gauge its dimensions: oughtness or strength (2, 9, 16), consensus (3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19), and conditionality (4, 11, 18). See Figure 6 on the next page. These constructs provided three measures for social norms, which was expected to increase the reliability of the study. All scales were seven-point, Likert-type measures with end points of "strongly do not agree" and "strongly agree."

Intrinsic Motivation (Moderating Variable)

Seven items (22a-g) measured respondents' motivation to become involved in tasks for their own self-worth. These items were taken from the Work Preference Inventory (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey, & Tighe, 1994) and comprised a reduced set as the result of a confirmatory factor analysis in a study of motivation among creative professionals in advertising (Stuhlfaut, 2006). The specific items were: having opportunities for increasing knowledge and skill, being driven by curiosity, having outlet for self-expression, success at work, enjoyment in solving difficult problems, tackling new problems, solving complex problems, and having control over the result. The seven-point, Likert-type scales for these items were anchored by the endpoints of "never true" and "always true," as used in a study by Amabile, et al., but the scale was changed from the original four-point measure to be consistent with the other sections of the instrument.

Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation (Moderating Variable)

The construct of synergistic extrinsic motivation was measured by five items (22h-l). They were specifically written to incorporate well-established positive social-environmental influences on creativity: autonomy or a sense of control, clear strategic
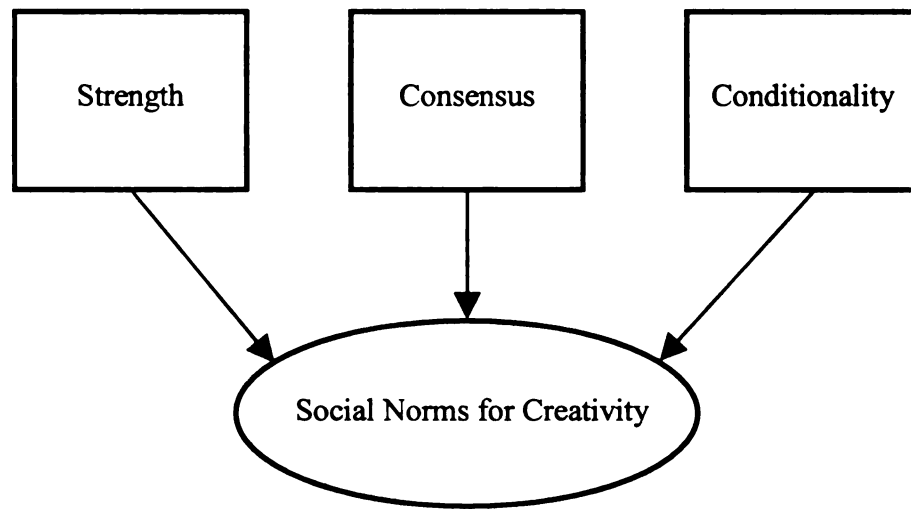
Figure 6: Dimensions of Social Norms for Creativity

direction, rewards that confirm competence, tasks that match a person's interests, and receiving encouragement from an immediate superior (Amabile, 1996). All five items for synergistic extrinsic motivation in this survey had seven-point, Likert-type scales with "never true" and "always true" as the end points.

Nonsynergistic Extrinsic Motivation (Moderating Variable)

The construct of nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation was measured by five items (22m-q). They were specifically written to incorporate well-established negative social-environmental influences on creativity: critical evaluation, surveillance, arbitrary and unrealistic deadlines, lack of cooperation, and rigid procedures (Amabile, 1996). All five items for nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation in this survey had seven-point, Likert-type scales with "never true" and "always true" as the end points.

Stages of the Creative Process (Dependent Variables)

A series of questions, repeated for each definition of social norms for creativity, measured the perception of the effect of SNC at each stage of the creative process: identification (6a-c, 13a-c, 20a-c), preparation (6d-f, 13d-f, 20d-f), generation in terms of number of concepts (7a, 14a, 21a), and evaluation in terms of the overall quality, originality, attention-getting power, relevance, believability and persuasiveness of the concepts (7b-g, 14b-g, 21b-g). Scales for all items were seven-point, Likert-type measures with end points of "very little" to "quite a bit." The "Not at all" category was provided to give the respondents the opportunity to report a lack of influence and to maintain proper balance in the scales.

Objective Measures

Seven variables comprised a set of objective measures that were obtained from the participants: name of agency (23), gender (24), age (25), length of employment at current agency (26), length of career in advertising agencies (27), creative position (28) and agency size by number of employees (29). The name of the agency was needed so the data from different participants within an agency could be averaged for organization-level comparisons. The age, gender, and length-of-employment-at-the-current-agency questions enabled the research to examine within-agency variations. The length-of-employment-at-any-agency question allowed the research to discriminate between young employees who just starting at an agency and older employees who have changed jobs recently. The question on the creative background enables the research to discriminate between copywriters and art directors, and to weed out any non-creative employees who happen to respond to the survey.

The amount of capitalized billings for each agency was obtained from the *Red Book* (LexusNexus, 2006).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Analysis of Responses

The survey produced a total of 263 responses from 92 advertising agencies. Of those responses, 243 were qualified as being from an identifiable art director or copywriter, and these were accepted into the data base. Ten of the 263 responses were not able to be attributed to a particular agency, and 10 were from people outside of the creative department, such as account managers and coordinators; thus these two categories of responses were rejected.

Table 3 categorizes the number of responses received. Forty agencies provided one response each. The remaining 203 responses came from 52 agencies for a mean of 2.56 responses per agency. Twelve agencies provided five or more responses, and the maximum number of responses from one agency was 21.

Table 3: Responses per Agency

Number Of Responses	Number of Agencies	Percent
1	40	43.5
2	24	26.1
3	13	14.1
4	3	3.3
5	5	5.4
6	2	2.2
7	1	1.1
10	1	1.1
12	1	1.1
17	1	1.1
21	1	1.1

Table 4 on the next page shows the responses by category of agency and method of contact. Forty-six of the Top 200 advertising agencies in the United States responded to contacts by e-mail or letter, which equates to a 24.2% response rate. Similarly, letters

and e-mails were sent to 400 medium to small agencies, which also produced 46

responses but at a 13.8% response rate. E-mail produced more responses from both

groups of agencies, which is attributed to the ability of e-mail to reach the target sample

of creative directors more directly than traditional mail. A number of creative directors

also responded via e-mail and telephone to inform the researcher that they were

encouraging their staff to complete the survey.

Table 4: Agency Stimuli and Responses

Category	Stimuli	Sent	Failed or Returned	Net	Responses	Percent
Top agencies	Letter	82	1	81	11	13.5
	E-mail	118	9	109	35	32.1
Sub-total		200	10	190	46	24.2
Other agencies	Letter	26	1	25	2	8.0
	E-mail	374	66	308	44	14.3
Sub-total		400	67	333	46	13.8
Total		600	77	423	92	21.7

Descriptive Measures of the Sample

Gender

One-hundred-sixty men (66%) and 83 women (34%) responded to the survey. As

no population statistics exist, this split cannot be evaluated for its representativeness, but

the general consensus in the industry is that creative departments in advertising agencies

are predominantly composed of men.

Job Functions

The respondents were comprised of 77 art directors (32%), 124 copywriters

(51%), 41 creative directors (17%), and one person who could not be placed in any

category, because this person handled both art and copy responsibilities.

Age

Thirteen respondents (5.3%) placed themselves in the 18- to 24-year age category,

21 (8.6%) in the 25- to 29-year category, 46 (18.9%) in the 30- to 34-year category, 31

(12.8%) in the 35- to 39-year category, 44 (18.1%) in the 40- to 44-year category, 38

(15.6%) in the 45- to 49-year category, 33 (13.6%) in the 50- to 54-year category, 11

(4.5%) in the 55- to 59-year category, and 6 (2.5%) in the over-60 category. The mean

was in the 35- to 39-year category, and the mode was the 30- to 34-year category.

Term at Current Agency

Fifty-eight respondents (23.9%) had been at their current agency for more than 10

years. On the opposite end of the scale, 35 respondents (14.4%) had been at their current

agency less than one year. In between, 24 respondents (9.9%) had been at their agency

for at least one year, 32 (13.2%) for two years, 16 (6.6%) for three years, 12 (4.9%) for

four years, 19 (7.8%) for five years, 18 (7.4%) for 6 years, 11 (4.5%) for seven years, 14

(5.8%) for eight years, and four (1.6%) for nine years.

Length of Career in Advertising

This sample represented a substantial amount of experience, as 157 respondents

(64.6%) have been in advertising more than 10 years. Fourteen respondents (5.8%)

reported that they have been in advertising for nine years, 10 (4.1%) for eight years and

10 (4.1%) for 3 years, 9 (3.7%) for 2 years and 9 (3.7%) for six years, 8 (3.3%) for seven

years and 8 (3.3%) for 5 years, 7 (2.9%) for four years, 6 (2.5%) for one year, and 5

(2.1%) for less than one year.

Representativeness of the Responding Agencies

Agencies of all sizes were represented in the results (Table 5). Eighteen agencies

had between one and 20 employees, 25 agencies had between 21 and 50 employees, 17

agencies had between 51 and 100 employees, 16 agencies had between 101 and

200employees, and 16 agencies had 200 or more employees, as reported by the

respondents. When respondents from one agency reported a different number of

employees, the *Red Book* (LexisNexis, 2006) was consulted to resolve the categorization,

as it reports the number of employees for most agencies. The mean agency size was in

the 21-to-50 employee category, and the mode was in the 51-to-100 employee category.

Table 5: Represented Agencies by Number of Employees

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 – 20 employees	18	19.6	19.6
21 – 50	25	27.2	46.7
51 – 100	17	18.5	65.2
101 – 200	16	17.4	82.6
More than 200	16	17.4	100.0

The agencies included in the response group also displayed diversity in terms of

capitalized billings. Not all agencies report capitalized billings, but 68 out of the 92

agencies represented do, as shown in the *Red Book*, advertising agency edition

(LexisNexis, 2006). Capitalized billings for the 68 agencies ranged from $1 million to

$1.85 billion annually. The mean billings, as calculated with SPSS, were $175 million.

Independent Variable: Social Norms for Creativity

In this study, social norms for creativity were measured in two ways: qualitatively through the respondents providing their own descriptions of what they thought the group values were in terms of what is creative, what is not creative, and what shows creativity in an advertising design or layout; and quantitatively through measuring the three dimensions of strength, consensus and conditionality. Before analyzing the quantitative results, this section will provide the qualitative results.

Qualitative Measures

What Is Creativity

The answers to the question, "What would most everyone in the creative department say is the one quality an advertising concept needs to have to be called creative?", were organized in a post-hoc manner into 14 categories: originality, attraction, substance, strategy, surprise, cleverness, relevance, persuasiveness, power, memorability, reward, simplicity, humor, and craftsmanship (Table 6).

A third of the responses reflected originality. An analysis further divided this group of statements into 4 very similar sub-categories: originality, uniqueness, innovation, and newness. Participants used the words originality and unique most often to describe the category. Similar expressions were: "never seen before," and "man, I wish I'd come up with that." The unique category also included such expressions as: "different," "out of the box," and "stand out from the crowd." The innovation category contained answers, such as "innovative," "inventive," and "wow."

Table 6: Qualities of Creativity in Advertising

Quality	Mentions	Percent* of Category	Total	Percent* of Total
Originality				
Originality	39	47.6		16.0
Uniqueness	27	32.9		11.1
Newness	13	15.8		5.4
Innovation	3	3.7		1.2
		100.0	82	33.7
Attractiveness				
Commanding attention	20	57.1		8.2
Emotionally engaging	10	28.6		4.1
Intriguing	5	14.3		2.1
		100.0	35	14.4
Substance			29	11.9
Strategic values			21	8.6
Surprise value			19	7.8
Cleverness				
Cleverness	9			3.7
Imaginativeness	2			0.8
			11	4.5
Relevance			10	4.1
Persuasiveness			9	3.7
Powerfulness			8	3.3
Memorability			5	2.1
Reward			4	1.6
Simplicity			4	1.6
Humorousness			3	1.3
Craftsmanship			1	.4
No answer			6	2.5
Total			243	100.0

*Percentages may not equal totals due to rounding.

74

The attraction category of responses (14.7% of the total) comprised those statements that referred to getting the audience to notice the advertisement. "Attention-getting" and "stopping power" were two often used words in the commanding sub-category. Intrigue was a sub-category, as participants described creativity as "captivating" or "a visual uniqueness that invites the viewer and reader in, stirs thought or emotion, and engages the viewer or reader in an out of the ordinary way." Ten participants focused on the emotional aspect of creativity that engages the audience with an emotional hook.

The third highest number of responses was in a substantive category (11.9%), pointing out that a key component of advertising creativity is its content; that advertising can not be art for art's sake. Creativity in advertising, according to this group of participants, needs to have "a big idea," "a good story line," and "a clear message." Perhaps the most compelling answer was provided by two participants, who stated that to be creative, advertising needs to have "a human truth."

Comments that reflected the strategic value of creativity comprised 8.6% of the total responses, which reflected the business function of advertising. Creativity was said to be "smart," "targeted," "tied back to the product," insightful, and "meet all of the client's objectives." Unexpectedness appeared in 7.8% of the definitions of creativity. One responder wrote that advertising creativity "must surprise the recipient, cause them to think of something in a new way, delight them, and engage them."

Cleverness is defined as wit, skill, quickness, resourcefulness, and ingenuity (Merriam-Webster, 1988), and nine respondents (4.5%) specifically associated "clever"

with advertising creativity. "It should be a clever expression of copy and visual." Imaginativeness was related construct that also was mentioned.

As stated in earlier in definitions of creativity, relevance or appropriateness is virtually half of creativity. "Great brands don't talk about themselves," wrote one respondent. A few respondents (4.1%) stated that creativity was viewed in their agencies in terms of creating connections between products and the audience, and between the product and the ad concept. Creativity in advertising was identified as "the ability to connect with the target audience in a meaningful way" and "an instant connection between product and the headline or visual."

The descriptions of what most everyone in the creative department would say was creative tended to be definitional, rather than normative, which could lessen the true measure of social norms. Also, it appeared that some respondents may not have followed directions and answered the question for themselves, instead of answering it in the context of what other people in the department thought was creative. For example, personal statements, such as "For my money, it isn't creative unless it sells" and "I must have a hook," reduce the normative value of the answers.

Although social norms for creativity were examined quantitatively and are reported in a subsequent section, a picture of the normative values of creativity appears when these statements are examined qualitatively by agency. Four agencies had 10 or more responses, which is a sufficient number to analyze here (Table 7). Responses from the Midwestern office of a large multi-national agency indicated that the agency regards originality as a strong normative value for creativity. Half of the respondents from the agency stated that originality or uniqueness was what most people in the creative

Table 7: Categories of Responses from Four Agencies

What is creativity		**What is not creativity**		**What represents a creative layout**	
Category	Number	Category	Number	Category	Number

A Midwestern office of a large national agency (12 responses)

1. Originality	6	1. Unoriginality	5	1. Attractiveness	6
2. Attractiveness	1	2. Shallowness	4	2. Design qualities	4
3. Surprise	1	3. Unattractiveness	2	3. Originality	1
4. Strategic values	1	4. Overly rational	1	4. Strategic qualities	1
5. Memorability	1				
6. Humorousness	1				
7. Craftsmanship	1				

An independent agency widely recognized for creative excellence (10 responses)

1. Substantive values	3	1. Unorginality	5	1. Attractiveness	5
2. Originality	2	2. Shallowness	3	2. Originality	3
3. Strategic values	2	3. Unattractiveness	1	3. Design qualities	1
4. Powerfulness	2	4. Poor strategy	1	4. Strategic qualities	1
5. Surprise	1			5. Stray comment	1

A primarily business-to-business agency (17 responses)

1. Originality	5	1. Unoriginality	6	1. Attractiveness	8
2. Attractiveness	4	2. Shallowness	4	2. Design qualities	3
3. Strategic values	3	3. Unattractiveness	2	3. Originality	3
4. Cleverness	2	4. Lack of focus	2	4. Memorability	2
5. Substantive values	1	5. Poor techniques	2	5. Strategic qualities	1
6. Powerfulness	1	6. Irrelevant	1		
7. Craftmanship	1				

A Top 20 consumer agency (21 responses)

1. Originality	8	1. Unoriginality	6	1. Design qualities	9
2. Cleverness	4	2. Shallowness	6	2. Attractiveness	7
3. Strategic values	3	3. Overly rationale	4	3. Originality	4
4. Attractiveness	2	4. Unattractiveness	2	4. Substance	1
5. Surprise	2	5. Poor techniques	1		
6. Persuasiveness	1	6. Poor strategy	1		
7 Substantive values	1	7 Irrelevant	1		

department thought was necessary for an advertisement to be creative. The other half of the agencies respondents were split among 6 other constructs (attention value, surprise, strategy, memorability, humor and craftsmanship).

Comments from another consumer agency, with more than $600 million in billings and 1,000 employees, centered on originality (38%), cleverness (19%)—"an idea so clever it stays in your head, even after you've moved on," and strategic value (14%). The remaining responses scattered between surprise, attractiveness, persuasiveness, and substance.

Half of the responses from an independent Midwestern agency, widely recognized for its creativity in consumer advertising, were in the categories of substance and power, with expressions of creativity, such as: "an undeniably great idea," "transcendent," and "it needs to unflinchingly examine the truth." Other mentions included uniqueness, surprise and strategic value.

Thirty percent of the responses from an agency that is predominantly a business-to-business agency in the Midwest reflected originality as the key value for creativity, with attractiveness second (24%), strategic value third (18%) and the rest divided between cleverness, substance, power, and craftsmanship.

What Is Not Creative

The response to the question, "What would most everyone in the creative department say is something that shows an ad is NOT creative?" were organized in a post-hoc manner into 13 categories: unoriginality, shallowness, unattractiveness, overly rational, poorly focused, poor techniques, client-directed, poor strategy, poor craftsmanship, irrelevant, unbelievable, no benefit, and stray comments (Table 8). As

Table 8: What Is Not Creative in Advertising

Quality	Mentions	Percent of Category	Total	Percent* of Total
Unoriginality				
Imitativeness	37	35.9		15.2
Unoriginality	21	20.4		8.6
Expectedness	13	12.6		5.4
Clichés	12	11.7		4.9
Derivativeness	8	7.8		3.3
Commonness	7	6.8		2.9
Borrowed interest	5	4.8		2.1
		100.0	103	42.4
Shallowness				
No idea	20	54.1		8.2
Hackneyed, formulaic	10	27.0		4.1
Miscellaneous (trite)	7	18.9		2.0
		100.0	37	15.2
Unattractive				
Not provocative	12	57.1		4.9
Dull or boring	9	14.3		3.7
Uninspiring	5	28.6		2.1
		100.0	26	14.4
Overly rational				
Straight-forward	14	73.7		5.8
Miscellaneous (hard sell)	5	26.3		2.1
		100.0	19	7.8
Poorly focused			14	5.8
Poor techniques			9	3.7
Client directed			9	3.7
Not strategic			8	3.3
Poor craftsmanship			8	3.3
Irrelevant			6	2.5
Unbelievable			2	0.8
No benefit			1	0.4
Stray comment			1	0.4
Total			243	100.0

*Percentages may not equal totals due to rounding.

opposed to the previous comments about "what is creative," comments about what is not creative tended to be less definitional and more reflective of personal and social values.

The 103 responses in the unoriginality category (42.4% of the total responses) comprised seven overlapping sub-categories that are distinguished here only to be intentionally and explicitly descriptive. Twenty-one literal responses (20.4%), such as: "unoriginal," "blatant lack of originality," and "not original," created the name for the category. The most responses in this category (35.9% of the responses in this category), however, contained a variation of the phrase: "been done before." Other variations were "expected" (12.6%), "clichés" (11.7%), "derivative" (7.8%),"common" or "ordinary" (6.8%), and "borrowed interest" (4.8%). "Borrowed interest" is a phrase that is often used by creative professionals in advertising to describe advertisements that heavily depend on other and often unrelated content, expressions and symbols to draw attention to a product. An example would be the use of sexual imagery to sell automobiles.

One common criticism of advertising is its shallowness or lack of an idea. Respondents affirmed this opinion with 20 statements (15.2%), such as: "no idea conveyed," "no thought behind the execution," "pretty visuals with no concept," and "an ad without an idea at its core." Other related responses in this category were those statements that criticized worn ("hackneyed"), mechanical ("formulaic"), or insignificant ("trite") advertisements.

Another ample category of responses (14.4%) were those statements that coalesced around unattractiveness. Participants wrote that advertisements were not creative when ads were "dull," "boring," "forgettable," "flat-footed," "conservative," "uninspiring" and "not eye-catching."

Overly rational approaches were also derided. A number of respondents (7.8%) did not like ad that were "straight-forward," or "without any unexpected twist." This category included statements that criticized ads for strictly focusing on product benefits, "following the rules," and using "hard-sell" or "direct-sales" tactics.

Creative professionals condemned uncreative advertising in a number of other ways. Poor advertisements lacked focus ("too many messages," "excessively busy," and "cluttered"), reflected client direction ("copied the brief verbatim," "exactly what the client asks for," and "expresses the client's wishes instead of the audience's desires"), did not appear to achieve a goal ("off strategy," "weak thinking," and "doesn't solve a client's problem"), lacked a benefit ("flat, feature oriented"), were unbelievable ("images or text that shout exaggerated claims"), and showed irrelevance ("whackiness," "trendy," "faddish," and "self-indulgent."

Social norms for creativity in advertising were especially evident in one category comprised of certain techniques that seem to be out of favor with creative professionals. The respondents to the survey criticized the use of puns (the humorous use of words to suggest multiple meanings), celebrity endorsements, large type, and stock photos (the use of existing photographs from commercial sources).

The four agencies analyzed previously for values of creativity can also be examined as to their responses for what does not represent creativity in advertising. Nine out of the 12 responses from a Midwestern office of a national agency fell into the unoriginality and shallowness categories, as did 8 out of 10 responses for the independent Midwestern agency, 10 out of 17 responses from a business-to-business agency, and 12

out of 21 responses from a large consumer agency. This data suggests that consensus among creative professional in agencies is fairly strong from a qualitative perspective.

What Is Creativity in Layouts

The term, layout, is used by people in advertising as a term for the design or format of an advertisement. Asking creative professionals about the qualities needed to show creativity in an advertising layout examined the construct in a more practical and specific manner, because judgments about creativity in layouts can be more concrete than judgments about what is or is not creative in general. A post-hoc analysis of the comments received separated them into 9 categories (Table 9): attractiveness (37.4% of the total), design qualities (29.2%), originality (12.3%), strategic qualities (4.5%), substantive qualities (4.5%), unexpectedness (2.5%), memorability (1.6%), relevance (1.2), and stray answers (6.6%).

The attractiveness category is comprised of statements about a layout's value in causing people to notice an advertisement. These statements were divided in a post-hoc manner into eight sub-categories that contained identical or similar phrases but did not necessarily describe orthogonal meanings. The two largest clusters were those with statements that expressed a layout's need to "grab attention," or generate "stopping power." Two other similar groups consisted of statements concerning a layout's "eye-catching" and "visually stimulating" qualities. Layouts also were seen to be attractive if they "stand out from the clutter," have "impact," or are "interesting," and "intriguing."

The second largest category of comments expressed the participants' requirements of a layout in terms of its design qualities. Most respondents in this category (25.4%) said that a layout needs to be simple. Other respondents (19.7%) said

Table 9: What Makes a Layout Creative

Quality	Mentions	Percent* of Category	Total	Percent* of Total
Attractiveness				
Grabs attention	27	29.8		11.1
Stopping power	25	27.4		10.3
Eye-catching	11	12.1		4.5
Visually striking, etc.	9	9.9		3.7
Interesting, engaging	8	8.8		3.3
Standing out	5	5.5		2.1
Impactful	5	5.5		2.1
Presence	1	1.1		0.4
		100.0	91	37.4
Design qualities				
Simplicity	18	25.4		7.4
Craftsmanship	14	19.7		5.8
Synergy of copy and art	13	18.3		5.4
Cleanliness and clarity	10	14.1		4.1
Image qualities	9	12.7		3.7
Techniques	7	9.9		2.9
		100.0	71	29.2
Originality				
Originality	15	50.0		6.2
Uniqueness	5	16.7		2.1
Breakthrough qualities	5	16.7		2.1
Freshness	4	13.3		1.6
Unusualness	1	3.3		0.4
		100.0	30	12.3
Strategic qualities			11	4.5
Substance qualities			11	4.5
Unexpectedness			6	2.5
Memorability			4	1.6
Relevance			3	1.2
Stray answers			16	6.6
Total			243	100.0

*Percentages may not equal totals due to rounding.

or implied that a layout needs to exhibit craftsmanship. Layouts should be "precisely art directed," "sophisticated," and "executed with the proper budget for photography and illustration." Still others (18.3%) looked for the synergy between copy and graphic elements: "The headline and visual [should] work together as one" and "An ad will not be understood if either the headline or the visual is taken away. The two must work together." The remaining comments in the design category noted the need for appealing images (12.7%); clean design, which usually means that an ad only contains the essential elements necessary in a well-organized, artistic manner (14.1%); and techniques (9.9%), such as: color photography, the use of color, typography, sparse copy, and image placement.

Comments expressing the need for originality comprised 12.3% of the total statements about creativity in layouts. Half of the comments were literal expressions of the construct. Other descriptions were: "unique," "fresh," "unusual," and an often-used term in advertising—"breakthrough," which is a colloquial expression for a new or revolutionary idea that rises above the general clutter or that ignores conventions.

A small number of respondents (4.5%) mentioned that the layout should fit with the strategic direction of the advertising. "It needs to make an immediate connection to its intended audience." It needs to "show a hierarchy of information." It needs to be "an innovative solution to the advertising problem." Another minor group of responses (4.5%) reflected a concern about substance. Layouts "need to be based on an idea." They need to be "concept-driven, rather than format-driven."

The remaining categories of comments about creativity in layouts consisted of a few expressing the need for unexpectedness (2.5%), memorability (1.6%) and relevance (1.2%).

An analysis of the responses for four agencies that produced ten or more responses seemed to indicate a degree of consensus about creativity in layouts (Table 6). Half of the responses from an independent agency, a Midwestern office of a national agency, and a business-to-business agency were in the attractiveness category. A third of the responses from the large consumer agency, mentioned in the previous sections, also fell into the attractiveness category; however more responses for this agency (42.9%) related to design qualities.

Quantitative measures

Social norms were also measured quantitatively by this study along three dimensions: strength, consensus and conditionality. The data from these dimensions were combined to produce a second-level factor: social norms for creativity, which served as the independent variable in the study.

Strength

Questions 2, 9 and 16 asked participants how strongly they thought others in their department believed in the quality that participants named for "what is creative," "what is not creative," and "what shows creativity in a layout." The means and standard deviations are reported in Table 10 on the next page, and they indicate that participants thought that others moderately agreed with their definitions, which is interpreted as a moderate show of strength for social norms for creativity.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Strength by Individual

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
2	5.47	1.56	243
9	5.81	1.51	243
16	5.72	1.44	243
Summary	5.67	1.50	243

When the 243 individuals in the sample were grouped into the 92 agencies, the following

means were calculated:

Table 11: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Strength by Agency

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
2	5.65	1.20	92
9	5.83	1.24	92
16	5.74	1.20	92
Summary	5.74	1.21	92

When the responses from 40 agencies, which only had one response per agency, were

eliminated, the following means were calculated:

Table 12: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Strength using Participants in Agencies with Multiple Responses

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
2	5.38	1.59	203
9	5.81	1.49	203
16	5.73	1.40	203
Summary	5.64	1.49	203

Thus, the strength of social norms appears to be moderately strong, despite the

considerable standard deviations. This effect held up, no matter whether or not the data

is organized by individual, agency, or agencies with multiple responses. Tests for

validity and reliability of the three items were conducted (n = 243). All item-total

correlations for each of the three items were greater than .7 (Q2 = .783, $p < .01$; Q9

= .771, $p < .01$; and Q16 = .770, $p < .01$); and all items were kept for factor analysis. A

confirmatory factor analysis was conducted that produced at mean correlation within the

cluster of .40, an eigenvalue of 1.2044 and a RMSE of .01. A reliability analysis for

internal consistency produced a standard item alpha of .67.

Table 13: Observed Factor Matrix for Strength

	Q16	Q2	Q9	F	EV
Q16		.00	.00	.66	.4356
Q2	.41		.01	.62	.3844
Q9	.41	.39		.62	.3844

Consensus

Questions 3, 10 and 17 asked participants to estimate the degree to which other

people in the department shared the specified value of what is creative, not creative, or

what is creative in a layout. This line of questioning was supported by follow-up

questions (5, 12 and 19) that asked participants to estimate the degree to which they

agreed with most everyone in the creative department in regard to the specified qualities.

Together, these two series of questions provided a measure of consensus or agreement,

which would indicate the presence of social norms for creativity. Analysis of the six

items provided the following means and standard deviations in Table 14 on the next page.

Table 14: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Consensus by Individual

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
3	5.15	1.48	243
10	5.70	1.39	243
17	5.59	1.39	243
5	5.57	1.67	243
12	5.96	1.48	243
19	5.73	1.53	243
Summary	5.61	1.49	243

Analyzing the data about consensus by agency produced the following results:

Table 15: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Consensus by Agency

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
3	5.20	1.22	92
10	5.80	1.13	92
17	5.61	1.16	92
5	5.78	1.19	92
12	6.06	1.10	92
19	5.83	1.21	92
Summary	5.71	1.17	92

When the responses from 40 agencies, which only had one response per agency, were eliminated, the following means were calculated:

Table 16: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Consensus using Participants in Agencies with Multiple Responses

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
3	5.11	1.48	203
10	5.67	1.39	203
17	5.58	1.35	203
5	5.49	1.70	203
12	5.94	1.49	203
19	5.71	1.52	203
Summary	5.58	1.49	203

Thus, the consensus of social norms appears to be moderately strong, despite the considerable standard deviations. This effect appeared no matter whether or not the data is organized by individual, agency, or agencies with multiple responses. All item-total correlations for each of the three items were greater than .7 (Q3 = .742, $p < .01$; Q5 = .758, $p < .01$; Q10 = .757, $p < .01$; Q12 = .819, $p < .01$; Q17 = .735, $p < .01$; and Q16 = .776, $p < .01$); therefore, all items were kept for factor analysis.

While a unified factor for consensus was expected, a one-factor solution was rejected because more error was found than would have been expected by chance (RMSE = .0870). A two-factor solution, however, produced two components, now identified as Consensus of Others and Agreement, as shown:

Table 17: Observed Factor Matrix for Consensus

	Q10	Q17	Q3	Q12	Q19	Q5	F1	F2	EV1	EV2
F1: Consensus of Others				**F2: Agreement**						
Q10		.00	.00	-.06	.09	.04	.75		.5625	
Q17	.53		.00	.12	-.16	.11	.71		.4096	
Q3	.48	.45		.07	.04	-.22	.64		.5041	
Q12	.61	.58	.52		.00	.00		.86		.7396
Q19	.51	.49	.44	.62		.00		.72		.5184
Q5	.46	.44	.40	.56	.47			.65		.4225
F1								.95	1.4762	
F2							.95			1.6805

	F1	F2
Mean correlations	.49	.55
Standard item alpha	.74	.79
RMSE	.00	.00

A separate test for parallelism between the two factors produced four of nine cases where the observed error exceeded the .05 confidence intervals around the predicted correlation. Therefore, consensus in this study is a two-dimensional construct.

Conditionality

This dimension was probed with questions 4, 11 and 18, which asked participants

to evaluate the degree that they believed the self-specified concept of what was creative,

not creative, or what was creative about a layout applied to every assignment. High

scores on the seven-point scales indicated that conditionality was low, which was

indicative of the presence of social norms. Analysis of the six items provided the

following means and standard deviations:

Table 18: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Conditionality by Individual

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
4	4.66	1.74	243
11	5.26	1.73	243
18	5.14	1.71	243
Summary	5.02	1.73	243

When the 243 individuals in the sample were grouped into the 92 agencies, the following

means were calculated:

Table 19: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Conditionality by Agency

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
4	4.70	1.34	92
11	5.30	1.32	92
18	5.23	1.36	92
Summary	5.07	1.34	92

When the responses from 40 agencies, which only had one response per agency, were

eliminated, the following means were calculated, as shown in Table 20 on the next page.

Table 20: Descriptive Statistics for SNC Conditionality by using Participants in Agencies with Multiple Responses

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
4	4.63	1.75	92
11	5.22	1.76	92
18	5.12	1.72	92
Summary	4.99	1.74	92

The means appeared to indicate slight agreement that the specified norms were not conditional, which would be consistent with the presence of social norms; but, the standard deviations, which were substantial, may mitigate this finding; thus, this dimension appeared to be the weakest of the three dimensions.

Item totals were calculated and correlations between the totals and the items were obtained. All the item-total correlations were greater than .7 (Q4 = .720. $p < .001$; Q11 = .803, $p < .001$, and Q18 = .772, $p < .001$), therefore all of the items were kept for factor analysis.

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted that produced at mean correlation within the cluster of .38, an eigenvalue of 1.2014 and a RMSE of .0082 (Table 21). A reliability analysis for internal consistency produced a standard item alpha of .65. Thus, all the items were kept for further analysis.

Table 21: Observed Factor Matrix for Strength

	Q11	Q18	Q4	F	EV
Q11		.01	-.01	.77	.5929
Q18	.49		.00	.63	.3969
Q4	.36	.29		.46	.2116

A Measure of Social Norms for Creativity

To produce one factor to use as the independent variable in the study, all items (Questions 2, 9, and 16; 3, 5,10, and 17; 5, and 12, 19; and 4, 11 and 18) from each of the four constructs, SNC Strength, SNC Consensus—Perception, SNC Consensus—Agreement , and SNC Conditionality, were subjected to factor analysis with SPSS software. An initial Principal Component Analysis extraction, using Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization, produced three components with total eigenvalues equal to 9.7416, which explained 70.1% of the total variance. In an examination of the rotated component matrix and the component plot in rotated space, Question 4 did not cluster with the items in the three components, and it was dropped. The factor analysis was repeated and the new total eigenvalues of 8.090 explained 73.54% of the variance; however, another examination of the rotated component matrix and the component plot in rotated space showed that Question 11 did not cluster with the other item in the three components, and it was dropped. Therefore, a third factor analysis was conducted, and it produced three components with an eigenvalue total of 7.780, which explained 77.9% of the variance. More importantly, as shown in a component plot in rotated space, all of the items were located in three distinct clusters.

The following component matrix reports (Table 22) the factor loadings for the items in a one-factor solution using a Principal Component Analysis. All loadings are above .620. The mean statistic for the ten items was 5.59 (SD = 1.11). Further, a reliability analysis of these items produced a standardized item alpha of .9036. Therefore, these ten item-questions were acceptable to serve as the items for the independent variable, social norms for creativity.

Table 22: Component Matrix of SNC Items

Q2	.693
Q3	.723
Q5	.685
Q9	.695
Q10	.778
Q12	.786
Q16	.796
Q17	.782
Q18	.620
Q19	.759

As a check on the integrity of the social norm independent variable, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine if variations in SNC could be explained by the following demographic or descriptive indices: gender, age, terms of employment at the respondents' current agencies, length of career in advertising, job type, size of agency and number of responses received per agency (Tables 23-29). No significant difference was found in social norms for creativity when the variable was evaluated by gender ($F(1,241) = .156, p > .05$), by age ($F(8,234) = .475, p > .05$), by term of current employment ($F(10,232) = .1.393, p > .05$), by length of career ($F(10,232) = .449, p > .05$), by job type ($F(3,239) = 1.360, p > .05$), by agency size ($F(4,238) = 1.524, p > .05$), and by the number of responses received per agency ($F(10,232) = .511, p > .05$). Therefore, social norms for creativity can be evaluated without consideration of demographic or descriptive categories.

Table 23: ANOVA of SNC by Gender

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.192	1	.192	.156	.693
Within Groups	296.269	241	1.229		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 24: ANOVA of SNC by Age Categories

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.734	8	.592	.475	.873
Within Groups	291.727	234	1.229		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 25: ANOVA of SNC by Employment at Current Agency

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	16.794	10	1.679	1.393	.184
Within Groups	279.667	232	1.205		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 26: ANOVA of SNC by Length of Career in Advertising

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5.632	10	.563	.449	.921
Within Groups	290.829	232	1.254		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 27: ANOVA of SNC by Job Categories

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.978	3	1.659	1.360	.256
Within Groups	291.483	239	1.220		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 28: ANOVA of SNC by Size of Agency

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	7.404	4	1.851	1.524	.196
Within Groups	289.056	238	1.215		
Total	296.461	242			

Table 29: ANOVA of SNC by Number of Responses per Agency

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	6.388	10	.639	.511	.882
Within Groups	290.072	232	1.250		
Total	296.461	242			

The Issue of Independence in the Data

Before proceeding further, whenever data are collected from participants in group or organizational environments, the issue of independence must be addressed. Effects can come from differences between people individually and as a group. These two levels of data are not independent from each other. Independence of observation is "a fundamental assumption of normal theory" (Hoyle, Georgesen, & Webster, 2001, p. 41). Respondents are independent when they are no more similar to one another than they are to persons who are members of other groups (Kenny, Mannetti, Pierro, Livi, & Kashy, 2002). Nonindependence of data is a problem in statistical models, such as regression and ANOVA, because it alters standard error or variance estimates used to test significance (Bliese & Hanges, 2004). The likelihood of type-1 error may be increased.

This study collected data from people within the creative departments of advertising agencies. On one hand, these copywriters and art directors typically work together in teams of two persons. On the other hand, those copywriters and art directors, who don't work directly together, may have very little contact, if any, yet they are all subject to the same social environment. The study investigated whether or not social norms for creativity influenced the creative process at the individual level, and it did not contain any provision for confirming if any of the respondents worked together. It did not examine agency differences quantitatively. The influence at the agency level was built in to the study through the measures of social norms for creativity. Nevertheless, the issue of independence between level-1 (individual effects) and level-2 (agency effects) data was examined using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). This technique separates

the variance in each dependent variable, so that the effect of the level-2 data may be determined. The objective was to see if the portion of variance due to the level-2 data would undermine the analysis at the level-1 level.

The data set was split to include only those cases (n = 203) from 52 out of the 92 agencies that had two or more people responding to the survey. An HLM analysis of all items in the study found the following results that are reported by dependent variable:

Intrinsic motivation: Level 2 contributed 2.01% of the variance, which meant that level 1 contributed 97.99%. The amount of level-2 variance was not significantly different from zero (chi-square = 45.61, df = 51, p > .05). Therefore individual-level analysis is appropriate.

Nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation: 2.41% of the variance was attributed to level 2, and it was not significantly different from zero (chi-square = 48.88, df = 51, p >.05).

Synergistic extrinsic motivation: 8.43% of the variance was due to level 2, which was significantly different from zero (chi-square = 74.78, df = 51, p < .017).

Problem identification: 20.04% of the variance was from level 2, which was significantly different from zero (chi-square = 97.54, df = 51, p < .001).

Preparation: 11.35% of the variance was from level 2, and this was significantly different from zero (chi-square = 78.96, df = 51, p < .007).

Response generation: 6.77% of the variance was located in level 2, and this was not significantly different from zero (chi-square = 57.55, df = 51, p =.245).

Response validation: 6.68% of the variance was attributed to level 2, and this in not significantly different from zero (chi-square = 62.08, df = 51, p = .138).

To summarize, the effect of level-2 influence was not significant in four out of the seven variables and significant in three. Therefore, the problem of independence should not be an issue when analyzing the data in regards to intrinsic motivation, nonsynergistic motivation, response generation, and response validation. Nonindependence, however, is a concern with the other three variable—synergistic motivation, problem identification, and preparation—so the results relative to these variables should be interpreted with caution, particularly with the problem-identification variable. The impact of nonindependence, however, is not a major threat to the basic thrust of the study, as will be shown in sections ahead that present the conclusions and analyze the proposed model.

Refinement of the Dependent Variables

All of the dependent variables were evaluated for validity using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA).

Intrinsic Motivation

Question 22 contained seven items (A, B, C, D, E, F and G) that measured the desire to complete a task based upon its contribution to an individual's self worth. The following data were obtained for each of the items:

Table 30: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Intrinsic Motivation

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
22A	6.30	0.99	243
22B	5.59	1.44	243
22C	6.01	1.35	243
22D	6.39	1.06	243
22E	5.57	1.29	243
22F	6.08	0.98	243
22G	6.13	1.18	243

An initial CFA of all items was rejected, because two of the 21 error statistics were outside of the 95% confidence intervals. Item C was dropped, leaving six items (A, B, D, E, F and G), which formed an acceptable factor with an item-total mean of 6.01, a mean correlation of .375, a standardized alpha of .78, total eigenvalues of 2.3256, and a RMSE of .0327.

Table 31: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the Factor of Intrinsic Motivation

	G	E	F	B	A	D	Factor
G		.00	.01	.04	-.02	-.02	.77
E	.56		-.06	.00	.05	.00	.73
F	.48	.52		-.03	.05	.02	.63
B	.38	.39	.37		-.04	.02	.54
A	.43	.34	.28	.33		-.04	.53
D	.39	.35	.28	.24	.29		.48

Nonsynergistic Extrinsic Motivation

Question 22 also contained five measures of motivation (M, N, O, P, and Q) from outside sources that have been found to be not supportive of intrinsic motivation (Amabile, 1996). The following data were obtained for each of the items:

Table 32: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Nonsynergistic Extrinsic Motivation

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
22M	4.77	1.81	243
22N	4.66	1.83	243
22O	5.14	1.70	243
22P	5.60	1.45	243
22Q	4.31	1.79	243

These items were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis, and all five produced observed correlations with errors that were within their respective

.95 confidence-level intervals. These items formed the factor of nonsynergistic extrinsic

motivation with an item-total mean of 4.90, a mean correlation of .247, a standardized

alpha of .62, total eigenvalues of 1.2708, and a RMSE of .0341.

Table 33: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Factor of Nonsynergistic Extrinsic Motivation

	O	M	P	Q	N	Factor
O		.04	-.06	.01	.01	.57
M	.27		.00	.03	.00	.55
P	.36	.29		-.06	.01	.52
Q	.26	.29	.18		.04	.47
N	.20	.21	.19	.22		.39

Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation

Question 22 also contained five measures of motivation (H, I, J, K, and L) from

outside sources that have been found to be supportive of intrinsic motivation (Amabile,

1996). The following data were obtained:

Table 34: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
22H	6.38	0.95	243
22I	6.54	0.92	243
22J	5.40	1.91	243
22K	5.19	1.73	243
22L	6.21	1.22	243

An initial confirmatory factor analysis rejected the five-item solution, because an

error statistic from one of the observed correlations was outside its .95 confidence-level

interval. Dropping item J produced an acceptable factor (Table 35) composed of four

items with an item-total mean of 6.08, a mean correlation of .246, a standardized alpha

of .57, total eigenvalues of 1.0219, and a RMSE of .0408.

Table 35: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Factor of Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation

	H	I	L	K	Factor
H		.05	.05	.00	.	.57
I	.37		.00	.05	.57
L	.22	.27		-.05	.47
K	.22	.17	.23		.39

Problem Identification

Questions 6, 13 and 20 contained nine items (6A, 6B, 6C, 13A, 13B, 13C, 20A,

20B, and 20C) to measure the influence of social norms for creativity on the problem-

identification stage of the creative process. Participants were asked how much their

notion of what was creative, not creative, and creative in a layout limited the way creative

problems were defined, limited the way situation input was analyzed, and limited the

objectives of the assignments. The following data were obtained:

Table 36: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Problem Identification

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
6A	2.89	2.40	243
6B	3.00	2.44	243
6C	2.53	2.31	243
13A	3.52	2.59	243
13B	3.18	2.48	243
13C	3.04	2.57	243
20A	3.00	2.49	243
20B	2.88	2.45	243
20C	2.62	2.35	243

An initial confirmatory factor analysis of all nine items was rejected, because 15 out of the 36 correlations represented observations that varied from predicted correlations with error terms outside of their respective .95 confidence-level intervals. A reduced set of four items (6B, 6C, 13B, and 20A) comprised an acceptable factor with an item-total mean of 2.92, a mean correlation of .436, a standardized alpha of .76, total eigenvalues of 1.761, and a RMSE of .0208.

Table 37: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Factor of Problem Identification

	6B	20A	6C	13B		Factor
6B		.05	.05	.00	.	.57
20A	.37		.00	.05		.57
6C	.22	.27		-.05		.47
13B	.22	.17	.23			.39

Preparation

Questions 6, 13 and 20 also contained nine items (6D, 6E, 6F, 13D, 13E, 13F, 20D, 20E, and 20F) to measure the influence of social norms for creativity on the preparation stage of the creative process. Participants were asked how much their notion of what was creative, not creative, and what was creative about a layout directed the way they thought about a creative problem, affected the way they sought out information, and affected the way they thought about possible solutions. The following data were obtained:

Table 38: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Preparation

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
6D	5.73	1.84	243
6E	4.72	2.36	243
6F	5.74	1.95	243
13D	4.92	2.42	243
13E	3.96	2.64	243
13F	4.98	2.40	243
20D	5.51	3.84	243
20E	4.25	2.42	243
20F	5.33	2.01	243

An initial confirmatory factor analysis of all nine items was rejected, because 11 of the 36 correlations represented observations that varied from predicted correlations with error terms outside of their respective .95 confidence-level intervals. A reduced set of five items (6D, 6E, 6F, 13F and 20F) comprised an acceptable factor with an item-total mean of 5.30, a mean correlation of .402, a standardized alpha of .77, total eigenvalues of 2.1105, and a RMSE of .0420.

Table 39: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the Factor of Preparation

	6D	6F	6E	13F	20F	Factor
6D		-.05	-.04	.05	.01	.80
6F	.69		-.02	.02	.02	.80
6E	.55	.50		.00	.04	.60
13F	.34	.37	.29		.09	.49
20F	.37	.36	.25	.33		.48

Response Generation

Questions 7, 14 and 21 contained three items (7a, 14a, and 21a) to measure the influence of social norms for creativity on the response generation stage of the creative process. Participants were asked how much their notion of what was creative, not

creative, or creative in a layout affected the number of concepts generated. The

following data were obtained:

Table 40: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Response Generation

Question	Mean (7-pt scale)	SD	N
7A	4.43	1.76	243
14A	4.26	1.76	243
21A	4.55	1.44	243

A confirmatory factor analysis of the three items produced a one-factor solution

with error terms inside their respective .95 confidence-level intervals. Therefore, these

items comprised an acceptable factor with an item-total mean of 4.41, a mean correlation

of .37, a standardized alpha of .64, total eigenvalues of 1.1525, and a RMSE of .0000.

Table 41: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Factor of Response Generation

	7A	21A	14A	Factor
7A		.00	.00	.72
21A	.47		.00	.65
14A	.33	.30		.46

Response Validation

Questions 7, 14 and 21 also contained 18 items (7B, 7C, 7D, 7E, 7F, 7G, 14B, 14C, 14D, 14E, 14F, 14G, 21B, 21C, 21D, 21E, 21F, and 21G) to measure the influence of social norms for creativity on the response-validation stage of the creative process. Participants were asked how much their notion of what was creative, not creative, or creative in a layout affected the overall value (7B, 14B, 21B), originality (7C, 14C, 21C), attention-getting power (7D, 14D, 21D), relevance (7E, 14E, 21E), believability (7F, 14F, 21F), and persuasiveness (7G, 14G, 21G) of the ads that they created. The following data were obtained:

Table 42: Descriptive Statistics for Items relating to Response Validation

	Question	**Mean** (7-pt scale)	**SD**	**N**
Overall	7B	5.89	1.76	243
	14B	4.92	2.07	243
	21B	5.76	1.35	243
Originality	7C	5.72	1.42	243
	14C	5.12	2.02	243
	21C	5.86	1.30	243
Attention	7D	6.05	1.30	243
	14D	4.98	2.09	243
	21D	6.11	1.19	243
Relevance	7E	5.55	1.33	243
	14E	4.71	1.86	243
	21E	5.21	1.38	243
Believability	7F	5.30	1.32	243
	14F	4.58	1.81	243
	21F	5.10	1.32	243
Persuasiveness	7G	5.75	1.31	243
	14G	4.78	1.94	243
	21G	5.75	1.20	243

Six subscales for the response-evaluation stage were built to evaluate Hypotheses 13a, b, c, d, e, and f. All six subscales were evaluated for internal consistency and reliability. The scale measuring the effect of SNC on overall quality (Table 43) was internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations exceeding the .95 confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-item correlation was .31; standardized alpha was .57; total eigenvalues were 1.1178; and the RMSE was .0057.

*Table 43: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Overall Quality*

	7B	21A	14A	Factor
7B		.00	.00	.79
21B	.51		-.01	.64
14B	.23	.18		.29

The scale measuring the effect of SNC on originality (Table 44) was internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations exceeding the .95 confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-item correlation was .31; standardized alpha was .57; total eigenvalues were 1.0697; and the RMSE was .0000.

*Table 44: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Originality*

	21C	7C	14C	Factor
21C		.00	.00	.72
7C	.48		.00	.67
14C	.23	.21		.32

The scale measuring the effect of SNC on attention-getting power (Table 45) was internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations exceeding the .95 confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-item correlation

was .32; standardized alpha was .59; total eigenvalues were 1.1210; and the RMSE

was .0057.

Table 45: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Attention-getting Power

	7D	21D	14D	Factor
7D		.00	-.01	.79
21D	.49		.00	.64
14D	.27	.20		.29

The scale measuring the effect of SNC on the advertising's relevance (Table 46) was

internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations exceeding the .95

confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-item correlation

was .25; standardized alpha was .50; total eigenvalues were 0.8498; and the RMSE

was .0057.

Table 46: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Advertising Relevance

	21E	7E	14E	Factor
21E		.00	.00	.65
7E	.37		-.01	.57
14E	.21	.18		.32

The scale measuring the effect of SNC on the advertising's believability (Table 47 on the

next page) was internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations

exceeding the .95 confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-

item correlation was .35; standardized alpha was .61; total eigenvalues were 1.1738; and

the RMSE was .0057.

Table 47: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Advertising Believability

	7F	21F	14F	Factor
7F		.01	.00	.80
21F	.51		.00	.63
14F	.30	.23		.37

The scale measuring the effect of SNC on the advertising's persuasiveness (Table 48)

was internally consistent with no errors from the observed correlations exceeding the .95

confidence-level intervals around the predicted correlations. The inter-item correlation

was .38. Standardized alpha was .64; total eigenvalues were 1.3173; and the RMSE

was .0000.

Table 48: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the
Response Validation Subscale of Advertising Persuasiveness

	21G	7G	14G	Factor
21G		.00	.00	.79
7G	.60		.00	.76
14G	.27	.26		.34

To obtain a single variable to use for the response-evaluation stage in the model, a

confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using the item totals of the six sub-scales. An

initial confirmatory factor analysis of all six subscales was rejected, because four of the

15 correlations represented observations that varied from the predicted correlations with

error terms outside of their respective .95 confidence-level intervals. After several scales

were eliminated, a reduced set of three subscales—Quality (7b, 14b, 21b), Originality (7c,

14c, 21c), and Attention-getting Power (7d, 14d, 21d)—formed an acceptable factor

(Table 49) with a mean inter-item correlation of .86, a standardized alpha of .95,

eigenvalues of 2.5979, and a RMSE of .0057.

*Table 49: Observed Correlations and Error Terms for the full
Response Validation Scale*

	Attention	Originality	Quality	Factor
Attention		.01	.00	.97
Originality	.90		.00	.93
Quality	.86	.83		.89

General Qualitative and Quantitative Conclusions about Variables

1. Valid variables were obtained for all eight constructs. Reliabilities varied from .90

   for the independent variable, social norms for creativity, to .56 for synergistic

   extrinsic motivation. Reliabilities for the variables related to the creative process

   varied from .64 to .95.

2. Social norms for creativity exist within advertising agencies. They were evident by

   the verbatim descriptions for what is creative in advertising, what is not creative, and

   what shows creative in an advertising layout. Generally, social norms were primarily

   comprised of attitudes that reflected the definition of creativity: originality and

   relevance. Attractiveness or attention-getting value was very important. When social

   norms for creativity were more specifically expressed in terms of advertising layouts,

   the leading categories were attractiveness and originality. Value or substance was

   defined in terms of design qualities, which makes sense considering the artistic nature

   of layouts.

3. Social norms were also evident in the quantitative evaluations of the dimension:

   strength, consensus and conditionality. Respondents thought others in the agency

   moderately agreed with their self-definitions of the constructs (means for strength =

5.67, others' consensus = 5.48, and respondents' agreement = 5.75). They also leaned toward the belief that these norms apply most of the time (mean for lack of conditionality = 5.02). Again, relatively large standard deviations indicate caution is needed to avoid overstating their overall strength.

4. Respondents appeared to be highly motivated intrinsically, as the data received showed a mean of 6.01 (SD .80) for the seven-point scale.

5. As for the influence of extrinsic motivation, respondents appeared to be more motivated by synergistic factors than nonsynergistic factors. A paired-sample t test was conducted to compare the mean for nonsynergistic motivation (4.90, SD = 1.07) with the mean for synergistic motivation (6.08, SD = .80). A significant difference was found ($t(242) = 16.289, p < .001$).

6. Participants apparently did not think that social norms for creativity influenced the problem identification stage of the creative process, because the mean was 2.92 (SD = 1.87) on a seven-point scale. This finding is the first of several to come that mitigates the importance of the non-independence issue with this variable.

7. Participants appeared to think that social norms for creativity influenced the preparation stage of the creative process, because the mean was 5.30 (SD = 1.52) on a seven-point scale.

8. Participants did not seem to think that social norms for creativity influenced the response generation stage of the creative process, because the mean was 4.41 (SD = 1.26).

9. Participants appeared to think that social norms for creativity influenced the response validation stage of the creative process, because the mean was 5.60 (SD = 1.087).

Testing the Hypotheses

Correlations were calculated to evaluate the relationships between the independent variable, social norms for creativity, the three dependent variables of motivation, and the four dependent variables relating to the creative process.

Table 50: Correlations of Variables

Variable	SNC	IM	NSEM	SEM	PID	Prep	RG
IM	-.001						
NSEM	.104	.061					
SEM	.148*	.117	.298*				
PID	.024	.030	.094	.066			
Prep	.172**	.125	.035	.125	.345**		
RG	-.032	.115	-.025	.096	.135*	.082	
RV	.209**	.130*	-.034	.191*	.004	.306**	.322**

*significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)
**significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Hypothesis 1 predicted a positive relationship between SNC and intrinsic motivation. It was not supported (r(242) = -.001, p > .05). Social norms for creativity did not increase intrinsic motivation.

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive relationship between SNC and synergistic motivation, and it was supported by correlation data (r(242) = .148, p < .05) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting synergistic extrinsic motivation based on SNC. A significant regression was found (F(1,242) = 5.366, p < .05) with an R^2 of .022 (Table 51 on the next page). As social norms for creativity increased, synergistic extrinsic motivation increased.

Table 51: ANOVA Predicting Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation based on SNC

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	3.288	1	3.288	5.366	.021
Residual	147.689	241	.613		
Total	150.977	242			

Predictor: (constant): social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: synergistic extrinsic motivation

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive relationship between synergistic extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation. It was not supported ($r(242) = .117, p > .05$). Synergistic extrinsic motivation did not affect intrinsic motivation. This finding is counter to the conclusions in most published literature (see Amabile, 1996).

Hypothesis 4 predicted a negative relationship between SNC and nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation. It was not supported ($r(242) = .104, p > .05$). Social norms for creativity did not appear to decrease the respondents' nonsynergistic motivation.

Hypothesis 5 predicted a negative relationship between nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation. It was not supported ($r(242) = .061, p > .05$). Nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation did not appear to decrease the respondents' intrinsic motivation.

Hypothesis 6 predicted a positive relationship between intrinsic motivation and the problem identification stage of the creative process. It was not supported ($r(242) = .030, p > .05$). Intrinsic motivation did not appear to influence respondents' perceptions of their ability to define problem, analyze the situation, and determine the objectives. This insignificant relationship is the second conclusion that mitigates the problem of non-independence in this study in regards to the problem-identification variable.

Hypothesis 7 predicted a positive relationship between intrinsic motivation and the response generation stage of the creative process. It was not supported by correlation data ($r(242) = .115, p > .05$). Intrinsic motivation did not appear to affect the respondents' perceptions of their ability to increase the number of creative alternatives.

Hypothesis 8 predicted a positive relationship between synergistic extrinsic motivation and the preparation stage of the creative process. It was not supported ($r(242) = .125, p > .05$). Synergistic extrinsic motivation did not appear to influence respondents' perceptions of the way they thought about the creative problem, sought out information, or the manner in which they examined possible solutions.

Hypothesis 9 predicted a positive relationship between synergistic extrinsic motivation and the response validation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data ($r(242) = .191, p < .05$) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting improved perceptions about the response validation stage of the creative process based on levels of synergistic extrinsic motivation. A significant regression was found ($F(242) = 9.174, p < .05$) with an R^2 of .037. As social norms for creativity increased, so too did perceptions concerning validating advertising. Therefore, synergistic extrinsic motivation appeared to influence respondents' positive perceptions of their advertising's overall quality, originality and attention-getting power.

Table 52: ANOVA Predicting Response Validation
based on Synergistic Extrinsic Motivation

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	10.492	1	10.492	9.174	.003
Residual	275.634	241	1.144		
Total	286.127	242			

Predictor: (constant): Synergistic extrinsic motivation
Dependent variable: Response validation

112

Hypothesis 10 predicted a positive relationship between SNC and the problem identification stage of the creative process. It was not supported (r(242) = .024, p > .05). Social norms for creativity did not increase the respondents' perceptions of their ability to define problem, analyze the situation, and determine the objectives. This insignificant relationship is the third conclusion that mitigates the problem of non-independence in this study in regards to the problem-identification variable.

Hypothesis 11 predicted a positive relationship between SNC and the preparation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data (r(242) = .172, p < .01) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting improvement in preparation based on levels of social norms for creativity (Table 53). A significant regression was found (F(242) = 7.368, p < .01) with an R^2 of .030. Social norms for creativity did appear to increase the respondents' perception of their abilities to think about the creative problem, seek out information, and examine possible solutions.

Table 53: ANOVA Predicting Preparation in the Creative Process based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	16.580	1	16.580	7.368	.007
Residual	542.330	241	2.250		
Total	558.910	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Preparation

Hypothesis 12 predicted a negative relationship between SNC and the response generation stage of the creative process. It was not supported by the correlation data (r(242) = -.032, p > .05). Social norms for creativity did not appear to decrease respondents' perception of their abilities to generate more concepts.

Hypothesis 13a predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents' perceived level of quality in their advertisements, as part of the response validation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data ($r(242) = .209$, $p < .01$) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting perceived quality based on levels of social norms for creativity (Table 54). A significant regression was found ($F(242) = 11.037$, $p < .01$) with an R^2 of .044. Social norms for creativity did appear to increase the respondents' perception of quality in their advertisements.

Table 54: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Quality of Advertisements based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	13.982	1	13.982	11.037	.001
Residual	305.295	241	1.267		
Total	319.277	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived quality

Hypothesis 13b predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents' perceived level of originality in their advertisements, as part of the response validation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data ($r(242) = .188$, $p < .01$) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting perceived originality based on levels of social norms for creativity (Table 55 on the next page). A significant regression was found ($F(242) = 8.839$, $p < .01$) with an R^2 of .035. Social norms for creativity did appear to increase the respondents' perception of originality in their advertisements.

Table 55: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Originality of Advertisements based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	11.358	1	11.358	8.839	.003
Residual	309.693	241	1.285		
Total	321.052	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived originality

Hypothesis 13c predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents' perceived level of attention-getting power in their advertisements, as part of the response validation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data (r(242) = .200, p < .01) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting perceived attention-getting power based on levels of social norms for creativity (Table 56). A significant regression was found (F(242) = 10.012, p < .01) with an R^2 of .040. Social norms for creativity did appear to increase the respondents' perception of attention-getting power in their advertisements.

Table 56: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Attention-getting Power of Advertisements based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	12.266	1	12.266	10.012	.002
Residual	295.266	241	1.225		
Total	307.532	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived attention-getting power

Hypothesis 13d predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents' perceived level of relevance in their advertisements, as part of the response validation stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data (r(242) = .191, p < .01) and a simple linear regression analysis predicting improvement in preparation based on

levels of social norms for creativity (Table 57). A significant regression was found

$(F(242) = 9.147, p < .01)$ with an R^2 of .037. Social norms for creativity did appear to

increase the respondents' perception of relevance in their advertisements.

Table 57: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Relevance of Advertisements based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	10.225	1	10.225	9.147	.003
Residual	269.405	241	1.118		
Total	279.630	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived relevance

Hypothesis 13e predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents'

perceived level of believability in their advertisements, as part of the response validation

stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data $(r(242) = .189, p < .01)$

and a simple linear regression analysis predicting perceived believability based on levels

of social norms for creativity (Table 58). A significant regression was found $(F(242) =$

$8.889, p < .01)$ with an R^2 of .036. Social norms for creativity did appear to increase the

respondents' perception of believability in their advertisements.

Table 58: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Believability of Advertisements based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	10.525	1	10.525	8.839	.003
Residual	285.360	241	1.184		
Total	295.885	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived believability

Hypothesis 13f predicted a positive association between SNC and respondents'

perceived level of persuasion in their advertisements, as part of the response validation

stage of the creative process. It was supported by correlation data ($r(242) = .241, p < .01$)

and a simple linear regression analysis predicting perceived persuasiveness based on

levels of social norms for creativity (Table 59). A significant regression was found

($F(242) = 14.812, p < .01$) with an R^2 of .058. Social norms for creativity did appear to

increase the respondents' perception of persuasiveness in their advertisements.

Table 59: ANOVA Predicting Perceived Persuasiveness of Advertisements
based on Social Norms for Creativity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	17.891	1	17.891	14.812	.000
Residual	291.106	241	1.208		
Total	308.997	242			

Predictor: (constant): Social norms for creativity
Dependent variable: Perceived persuasiveness

Additional Significant Findings

The study found a number of significant relationships in addition to those

hypothesized. The strongest unpredicted relationships were between the stages of the

creative process. Predictions were not made for these relationships to be consistent with

Amabile's model, on which this model is based. Amabile made no predictions between

the stages of the creative process, because "large variations in the sequence are possible"

(Amabile, 1996, p. 123). This study found significant relationships between problem

identification and preparation ($r(242) = .345, p < .01$), between problem identification

and response generation ($r(242) = .135, p < .01$), between preparation and response

validation ($r(242) = .306, p < .01$), and between response generation and response

validation ($r(242) = .322, p < .01$). These strong correlations could have been expected

117

due to the nature of the creative process in advertising and the stages that have been well defined by Young (1940) and others.

An interesting unanticipated finding was the relationship between intrinsic motivation and response validation ($r(242) = .130, p < .01$). The question here is about the direction of the effect. The model would imply that as advertising creative professionals become more intrinsically motivated, their perceptions of their advertisement's attention-getting power, relevance, believability and persuasiveness will increase. Perhaps, the relationship is reversed. The more those creative professionals believe their advertising gets attention, is relevant, is believed, and is persuasive, the higher their intrinsic motivation could become.

The remaining unpredicted finding is the most difficult to explain. The data support a conclusion that there is a positive relationship ($r(242) = .298, p < .01$) between nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation (the motivation that results from negative influencers) and synergistic extrinsic motivation, (the motivation that comes from positive external sources). In other words, the results would seem to imply that the more negative influencers there are, the more positive influencers there are. This finding may reflect the complexity of situations. As situations become more complex with more external pressure, the good comes along with the bad, and vice versa. Further explanation will be left to future research.

Summary of Significant Paths in Proposed Model

Significant predicted paths were found from social norms for creativity (SNC) to synergistic extrinsic motivation, to preparation, and to response validation (Resp Val) and its subscales of quality, originality, attention-getting power, relevance, believability and

persuasiveness. A significant path was also found from synergistic extrinsic motivation to

the response validation stages. See the heavy solid paths in Figure 7. Additional paths

were found between intrinsic motivation and response validation, between nonsynergistic

extrinsic motivation and synergistic extrinsic motivation, and between the various stages

of the creative process. These paths are shown in heavy dashed lines on Figure 7.
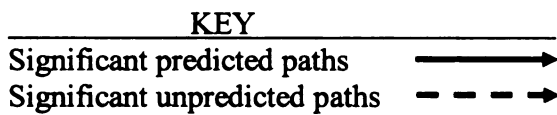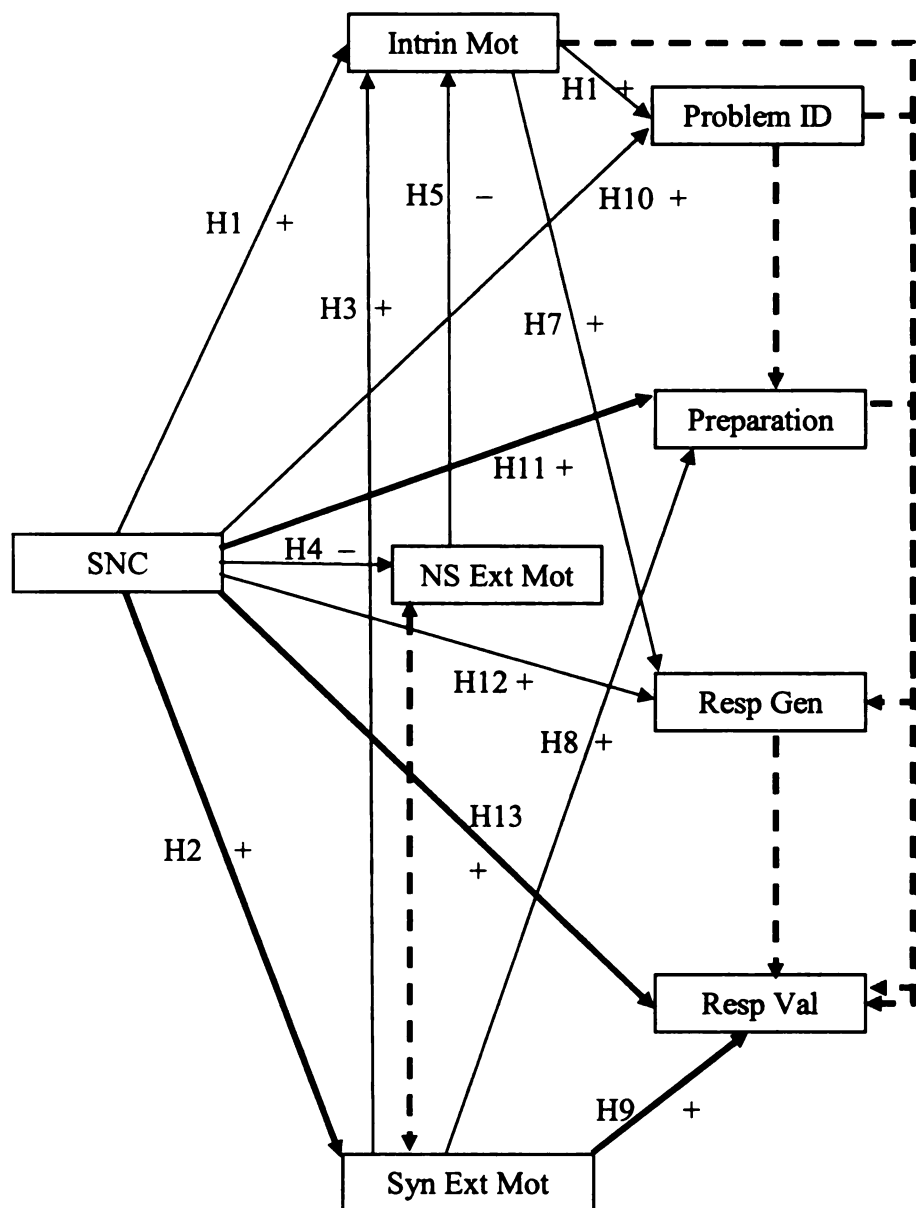
Figure 7: Summary of Significant Paths in Proposed Model

Testing of the Creative Process Model

As an additional evaluation of the proposed model of the creative process and social norms for creativity, the model was subjected to a structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis using AMOS 6.0 software program. The model (Figure 8) appeared to be acceptable (chi square = 11.012, df = 8, p = .201, GFI = .989, CFI = .977, RMSEA = .039, and low 90 =.000. Four significant paths were found, which supported Hypotheses 2, 9, 11, and 13. These paths are highlighted below in bold in Figure 8.

Table 60: Standardized Estimates for Model Paths

Path			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
nonsynmo	<---	totalsnc	.104	.062	1.621	.105
synexmo	**<---**	**totalsnc**	**.148**	**.045**	**2.321**	**.020**
intrinsi	<---	totalsnc	-.021	.047	-.320	.749
intrinsi	<---	synexmo	.111	.069	1.646	.100
intrinsi	<---	nonsynmo	.030	.050	.444	.657
problem	<---	totalsnc	.024	.109	.371	.710
validate	**<---**	**totalsnc**	**.189**	**.062**	**3.015**	**.003**
problem	<---	intrinsi	-.001	.140	-.025	.980
validate	**<---**	**synexmo**	**.138**	**.082**	**2.320**	**.020**
generat	<---	totalsnc	-.032	.073	-.507	.612
prepar	**<---**	**totalsnc**	**.161**	**.087**	**2.526**	**.012**
generat	<---	intrinsi	.079	.095	1.301	.193
prepar	<---	synexmo	.078	.115	1.302	.193

Note that the paths to the problem stage of the creative process were not significant, which represents the fourth finding that mitigates the problem of non-independence in this study in regards to the problem-identification variable.
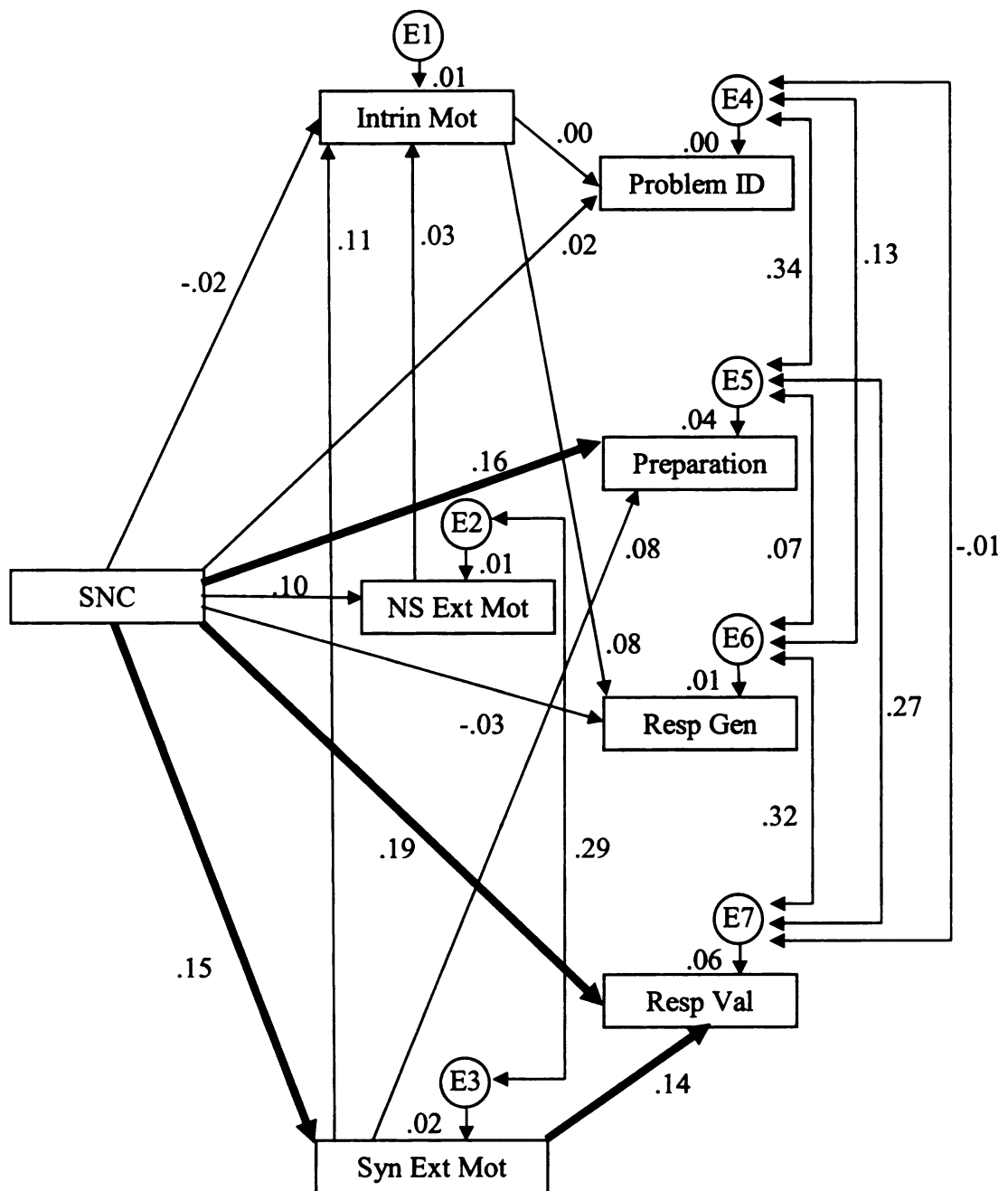
Figure 8: Structural Equation Model of the Creative Process

(Significant paths are in bold)

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Findings

This study demonstrated for the first time in known published research that social norms for creativity exist within advertising agencies—not defined as what makes an organization more creative—but defined as what the organization's members think are the operant values of what is and is not creative. These social norms for creativity generally consisted of attitudes that reflected the widely held definition of creativity as novel and relevant. Attractiveness and substance were also key components.

The study measured social norms for creativity and its three predicted dimensions—strength, consensus, and conditionality—which showed moderate strength (mean = 5.58, SD = 1.11) and held up to the scrutiny of confirmatory factor analysis. This study found that social norms for creativity can have a measurable impact on the creative process and motivation. The study tested a model of the creative process and found that social norms can affect the creative process directly, rather than just indirectly through motivation, as previously theorized but left open for debate. Social norms for creativity directly affected the preparation and response-validation stages, probably because these three stages are where creative ideas are formed into advertising concepts and evaluated for their quality, originality, attention-getting power, relevance, believability and persuasive value. The problem-identification stage, where the problem is defined, limited and analyzed, seems to be viewed as less of a creative activity. The creative process as a whole, with its five steps (outcome was not studied as part of this research), was strongly supported.

Consistent with the stance taken by this study that social norms are supportive of the creative process, respondents thought that social norms for creativity slightly-to-moderately increased these effects. In other words, social norms for creativity were not viewed as disadvantageous to the process. Social norms for what is and is not creative appear to enhance rather than inhibit creativity. This finding was repeated in the preparation stage. Social norms for creativity did not appear to inhibit the way respondents thought about the creative problem, sought out information and thought about possible solutions.

At the intermediate level of the model, social norms for creativity affected synergistic (beneficial) extrinsic motivation but did not affect intrinsic motivation or nonsynergistic (detrimental) extrinsic motivation. This makes sense, because social norms are external moderators of motivation, which could be expected to affect a person's self motivation indirectly through synergistic extrinsic motivation. No significant link was found between synergistic extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation, which as noted, does not conform to previous research (Amabile, 1996), but this is just one study.

Some would say that agency creative professionals are highly skeptical and cynical about attempts to define creativity. Most respondents were very cooperative in answering the survey, but one respondent wrote the following as an answer to what shows creativity in layouts; "Whoever you are, you're being far too egg-headed in your approach to creativity. Creativity is special, because it can't be quantified. That's what makes it special." Several other people deflected the issues by attributing the limits of creativity to such outside causes as clients, account managers, budgets, and time

pressures. One respondent took the time to write an e-mail to the researcher to comment on these outside limitations, but in doing so, the message was most telling about the power of social norms for creativity. The individual wrote, "A truism in most agencies is that 'the best work never leaves the building.' That's because if it's too original, too different, too edgy, too far from the expected, these people are just not comfortable with it." If this sentiment is truly representative as the writer states, then social norms for creativity very much may be the biggest determinant in the creative process.

Indeed, the phenomena of social norms for creativity appears, at least from the qualitative results of this study, to operate on a far broader level than within each agency, and therefore these norms may be more powerful than originally conceived. The verbatim comments about what is creative, not creative and creative for layouts showed remarkable similarity from agency to agency. A third of the comments about what is creative reflected originality; 42% of the comments about what is not creative reflected unoriginality; and attractiveness qualities were strongly represented in each category. This conclusion was supported coincidentally by an e-mail that the researcher received from a respondent in reply to being sent a report of the survey's qualitative results. The respondent stated: "It's one thing for creatives at an agency to discuss processes and our opinions about what is creative among our peers; it's another (and completely fulfilling) thing to see that other creatives in other places feel the same way." Hence, social norms for creativity may be an industry-wide phenomenon. This industry-wide perspective on social norms also would appear to counter the above comment that creativity is that unique or special from agency to agency, person to person.

Implications

If people are to understand the creative process, it is not enough to comprehend its traditional five steps. Work can be undertaken to improve the manner in which the problem is identified. Creative teams can become better prepared by learning more about the topic. They can hone their creative skills. They can use brainstorming and other techniques to generate more novel and relevant concepts. They can develop better processes by which to evaluate proposed campaigns; and they can measure the effects of outcomes against goals; but they can still miss a fundamental piece of the puzzle, if they ignore, not just the everyday social norms of working together, but also, more relevantly, the social norms for creativity—what is and is not creative—that establish the paradigm for the whole process.

Agencies need to learn more about the social norms for creativity that exist within their organization; not the formal platitudes and espoused philosophies, but the day-to-day working social values of right and wrong that may have the most impact on creative outcomes. Typically, agencies just put teams together out of convenience and hope for the best. The more that people in agency organizations become aware of the operant social norms for creativity, the better they will be able to put these standards to good use, the more they can challenge these standards to achieve new expressions of advertising and the more successful their agencies will become in developing a clear vision of what they represent, what they offer and who they serve.

Perhaps people inside an advertising agency produce a certain type of ad because they are operating under some unstated assumptions about what is and is not creative. Perhaps creative people within an agency organization have different values about

creativity, which may be productive or counter-productive. Perhaps people are holding on to concepts about creativity because they think others in the organization believe these values are important when they are not. Greater awareness and discussion about social norms for creativity will bring these issues into the light.

Limitations

When discussing the results of this study, it must be kept in mind that the dimensions of social norms for creativity were measured indirectly as perceptions from the point of view of the respondents, rather than directly as attitudes of the group. Due to the limitations imposed by the survey method, participants were asked to rate their perception of the strengths of social norms within their agency, the degree of consensus, and the degree of conditionality. To measure these constructs more directly, a researcher would have to ask each person within the agency about the degree to which they believed in a specified set of social norms; then, the operant (versus the perceived) levels of strength, consensus and conditionality could be more accurately determined.

The study also was limited by the small number of responses per agency that restricted agency-level analysis. The desired population of creative professionals is very difficult to reach and motivate in regards to a research study. While the 243 respondents provided an adequate sample for the analysis, there was a 71% abandon rate, which may indicate that the study had greater potential or that respondents simply may have logged on to the survey once to check it out, then logged on later when it was more convenient to complete the whole questionnaire. The causes of this drop-out rate could be investigated to see whether or not there were some latent qualities in the survey instrument itself that were responsible for the disconnect.

More responses were obtained when an individual inside an agency, such as a creative director, took a personal interest and championed the study. For example, creative directors at the a large independent agency and a Midwestern office of a Top-10 agency group became very involved in the decision to have their staffs participate in the survey, and these two agencies provided the highest number of responses per agency.

This observation brings up a potential hidden bias in the study. If more responses came from agencies with creative directors, who were actively interested in the study, then this may indicate that agencies with stronger response rates may have stronger social norms (and vice versa). Even further, there may be a stronger bias toward social norms in agencies that responded versus those that didn't respond. A finding, however, was that among those agencies that responded, there was no significant differences attributable to response rates, but, do the agencies that responded reflect the total agency population? The survey achieved responses from 24.2% of the top 200 agencies and 13.8% of the vast majority of other agencies with an organizational structure, so the inclination is to conclude that the sample does represent the population, but this is just one study. Another bias could be that people who are most influenced by social norms were the people who responded. This could indicate a strong bias toward a reporting of social norms, but the mean of social norms for creativity and the means for each dimension of SNC were not extreme.

Possible Improvements and New Directions

Overall, the methods employed worked very well, and the online survey method simplified the process for participants and the researcher. Advertising agencies, by the very nature of their communication activities, heavily utilize computers and network

technology. It is assumed that virtually all agency creative professionals are connected to the Internet via a computer work station in their office, and the results were improved when the researcher had an e-mail address of a creative director. E-mail reminders produced almost instantaneous activity by stimulating responses typically within hours.

The telephone also provided an assist to recruitment, because it enabled the researcher to directly contact the creative-director gatekeepers. Creative group coordinators or managers were also an excellent point of contact, which should be kept in mind by future researchers in this area. These administrative support personnel were often easier to reach than creative directors, and they were influential in directing the researcher to the right person within the agency.

To get better information that reflects the operant social norms with advertising agencies, it is imperative that the cooperation of agency management be obtained. When this occurred, the researcher was more successful in gaining participation of the targeted participants. Methods, however, need to be found to gain access to large agency organizations. Only one of the Top-10 agencies, ranked by gross income, participated to any significant extent, meaning more than one or two responses. These large agency networks employ a large number of copywriters and art directors, and they represent a huge potential for more representative, more insightful research. These large agencies, too, could be expected to have more entrenched social values, which would make them richer sites for analysis. The best way to get a more complete study of social norms inside an advertising agency would be to obtain its management's permission to physically walk around the offices and ask every copywriter and art director to participate, but this is impractical for a cross-sectional quantitative study of any scope. Access to

agencies would also allow for the measurement of the outcome stage of the creative process. Advertisements could be judged for their novelty, appropriateness, and unexpectedness. Social norms for creativity can be measured against the number of concepts generated. Personal evaluations could be made as to the outcomes of job satisfaction and mastery.

Work also could be conducted to examine the dimensions of social norms for creativity more fully. For example, the dimensions of strength and consensus may seem similar, but they are not parallel, at least from a theoretical perspective. The difference is best illustrated by a matrix (Table 61). Low strength and low consensus should indicate weak influence of social norms (quadrant 3). Oppositely, high strength and high consensus should indicate strong influence of social norms (quadrant 2). There also may be situations where there is high consensus or agreement as to the values for social norms, but these norms may not be held very strongly (quadrant 1). Last, there may be situations, where people in a group strongly hold a number of norms, without much agreement as to which one should be the primary value (quadrant 4). A sample would have to be constructed that identified agencies in each condition.

Table 61: Comparison of Strength and Consensus Dimensions

Consensus	1. High Consensus Low Strength	2. High Consensus High Strength
	3. Low Consensus Low Strength	4. Low Consensus High Strength

<div align="center">Strength</div>

Similarly, the dimension of strength could be contrasted with the dimension of conditionality (Table 62). Social norms may be highest in quadrant 4, when they are low in conditionality (more universally applicable) and high in strength. The second level situation would be when social norms are high in both conditionality and strength, meaning that the norms are strongly valued, but they may not apply all of the time (quadrant 2). Low levels of social norms may apply in most or all circumstances (quadrant 3) or a few or isolated circumstances (quadrant 1).

Table 62: Comparison of Strength and Conditionality Dimensions

Conditionality	1. High Conditionality Low Strength	2. High Conditionality High Strength
	3. Low Conditionality Low Strength	4. Low Conditionality High Strength

Strength

Conditionality may also be contrasted with consensus (Table 63). Social norms should be most apparent under high consensus and low conditionality (quadrant 1). Moderate levels should occur where there is high consensus and high conditionality (quadrant 2), where there is widespread agreement on the primary norms, but they do not

Table 63: Comparison of Consensus and Conditionality Dimensions

Consensus	1. High Consensus Low Conditionality	2. High Consensus High Conditionality
	3. Low Consensus Low Conditionality	4. Low Consensus High Conditionality

Conditionality

131

apply in all situations. Social norms should be least evident in situations with low

consensus and either low or high conditionality (quadrants 3 and 4).

The theoretical effects of the three dimensions together are described in Table 64

which represents a cubed matrix in a flat form. Logically, social norms should be most

apparent when there is high strength, high consensus and low conditionality (square 7).

The next level would be when there is high strength, high consensus and high

conditionality (square 8). The lowest level of social norms would be when there is low

strength, low consensus and high conditionality (square 3).

Table 64: Summary of Theory for Three Dimensions of Social Norms

1. Low Strength Low Consensus Low Conditionality	2. Low Strength High Consensus Low Conditionality	3. Low Strength Low Consensus High Conditionality	4. Low Strength High Consensus High Conditionality
5. High Strength Low Consensus Low Conditionality	6. High Strength Low Consensus High Conditionality	7. High Strength High Consensus Low Conditionality	8. High Strength High Consensus High Conditionality

To more fully understand the creative process within advertising agencies, more

work needs to be done in regards to understanding the interaction between effects at the

individual level, the team level and the agency level. The interactions between levels in

this study were for the most part insignificant or inconsequential; however, the issue of

non-independence will have to be more fully explored. How can the variance between

individuals be separated from the variance due to agencies? This will require larger and

more complete samples of data with a larger percentage of potential number of

respondents per agency. It would be beneficial to know more about the sources of

influence to better understand how social norms work and how they can be influenced.

Obvious sources are the creative director, agency management, clients, peers, and others

in the advertising industry. Which sources are most influential and why? How do changes in social norms occur, and what drives that change? These questions most likely would require qualitative method, such as case studies, to gain a deeper understanding of social norms for creativity.

A question or concern about the study was that its results did not concur with previous studies in regards to the effect of synergistic extrinsic motivation on intrinsic motivation and the effect of intrinsic motivation on the creative process (see Amabile, 1996). The absence of correlations involving intrinsic motivation may have been due to the high level and narrow deviation of intrinsic motivation ($M = 6.01$, $SD = .80$) that created little variance to correlate with the other variables. Where does the cause for this difference lie? Did the method fail to provide a diverse sample in terms of motivation? Are advertising-agency professionals inherently more motivated than people in other studies? Stuhlfaut (2006), however, found that advertising people were not significantly different in their level of intrinsic motivation. If social norms for creativity do not affect intrinsic motivation, does this mean that intrinsic motivation is a trait or a stable individual characteristic? In a study cited earlier in this work, Ryan and Deci (2000) concluded that intrinsic motivation could be increased by positive feedback given in a non-controlling manner that imparted useful information. Social norms for creativity could be viewed in this manner. Creative work that is done in accordance with norms should receive such positive feedback. What were the circumstances about this survey to this respondent pool that caused a lack of relationship between SNC and intrinsic motivation? Again, was it just the lack of variance in the level of intrinsic motivation, or was this symptomatic of a bigger issue? More work needs to be done to investigate the

discrepancies between the effects in this study and previous studies involving motivation and creativity.

More work also needs to be done on scales that measure synergistic and nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation in advertising. The standardized alpha for synergistic extrinsic motivation was .57 and the standardized alpha for nonsynergistic extrinsic motivation was .62. This same issue was also expressed by Amabile (1996) who provided the basis for the scales used in this study. Perhaps additional items could be developed, so the scales would contain more than five items each.

This study examined the effects of social norms on the creative process through the lens of motivation, using the intervening variables of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, because the investigation used and extended the work of Amabile and the componential model of creativity. More could be done, however, by examining the effects in the context of other moderators. For example, research could study the effects through the prism of structure. Rigid structures could be expected to have strong social norms, while flexible structures should tend to be less restrictive. Taking another view, how do social norms for creativity mesh with an agency's mission or strategic goals? Or, how does the organizational overall climate for creativity work to promote or inhibit certain values about what is and is not creative?

Conclusion

This research added significant knowledge to the study and practice of creativity in advertising by applying theories and concepts from other disciplines. It lent its weight to the argument that creativity in advertising is not just an individual process of inspiration; it is a social process with inherent values, judgments and influence. What

was learned by this study also has application beyond advertising to other creative endeavors in other fields, because the creative process is fundamentally a universal phenomenon that operates in all organizations; and therefore, social norms for what are and are not creative standards in other fields must also exist.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SOLICITATION MATERIALS

Letter on MSU Advertising, Public Relations and Retailing Department letterhead

Date

Name
Address

Dear (name),

I would like to include the copywriters and art directors on your staff in a national survey of advertising creativity. After 24 years in the business as a copywriter, I'm at MSU earning a Ph.D in advertising…yes, it's true…there is one. As part of my dissertation research, I'm conducting a national online survey to find out what copywriters and art directors think about creativity and how their views affect the creative process. I would appreciate it greatly if you would ask your staff to take an online survey. It will only take about 10 minutes of their time. I think you and they will find it thought provoking.

Please ask your art directors and copywriters to go to:
http://research.adv.msu.edu/ss/wsb.dll/Stuhlfaut/creativity.htm

It's important that as many people within your department participate as possible, because I'm interested in group-level data. But please make sure everyone knows their participation is voluntary. Any information they provide will not be attributable to them. All the data will be averaged together. I'd be glad to share the general results and the overall results from your agency with you. It may help you push the boundaries of creativity in new ways.

I would really appreciate your help. If you have any questions, you may contact me at stuhlfau@msu.edu or call 1-517-646-0713. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Mark Stuhlfaut
Michigan State University

PS: Enclosed is suggested copy that you may use to send an e-mail or memo to your staff.

E-mail to creative directors

Subject: What is or is not creative

After 24 years in the business as a copywriter, I've gone back to Michigan State University to get a Ph.D in advertising. Now I'm conducting research for my dissertation, and I'd appreciate your help. I would like to have all of the copywriters and art directors on your staff complete a short online questionnaire. It will only take about 10 minutes of their time. I think they will find it interesting.

Below is suggested copy for you to use in an e-mail. Please ask your art directors and copywriters to go to http://research.adv.msu.edu/ss/wsb.dll/Stuhlfaut/creativity.htm

It's important that as many people within your department participate as possible, because I'm interested in group-level data. But please make sure everyone knows their participation is voluntary. Any information they provide will not be attributable to them. All the data will be averaged together. I'd be glad to share the general results and the overall results from your agency with you. It may help you push the boundaries of creativity in new ways.

I would really appreciate your help. If you have any questions, you may contact me at stuhlfau@msu.edu or call 1-517-646-0713. Thanks.

Suggested e-mail text provided to creative directors

To everyone in the creative department:

The creative department has been asked to participate in a National Study of Creativity in Advertising. It's about what we think about what is and is not creative. Please go to http://research.adv.msu.edu/ss/wsb.dll/stuhlfaut/creativity.htm and complete an online survey. It should only take about 10-15 minutes of your time.

To get the most representative results for our agency, we encourage everyone to participate; however, please understand that your participation is completely voluntary. We won't know who did or did not participate. No proprietary, confidential or personal information is requested. Any opinions you provide will be held in the strictest confidence by the researchers. We will only receive results that have been combined, so no answers will be attributed specifically to anyone.

It is important not to bias your answers or the answers of others. Therefore, please do not discuss the questions or your answers with others until you and they have completed the questionnaire.

Thanks for your help.

APPENDIX 2: INSTRUMENT

National Survey of Creativity in Advertising

This is the National Survey of Creativity in Advertising to find out what people like you think about what is creative and what is not creative. Your participation is very important and much appreciated. You should be able to complete the survey easily in about 15 minutes. Before starting the study, please read the following statement.

STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY AND CONSENT

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may end your participation at any time, and you may refuse to answer any particular question within the survey. All information that you provide will be held in strict confidence. The information that you provide will be tabulated so that it cannot be attributed to you in any report of the research's findings. Only the researchers involved in this study will have access to the raw information. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If you would like to receive a copy of the study's general results, please provide your name and e-mail address in the boxes at the end of this questionnaire. Please be assured that your name and contact information will be separated from the other information you provide and placed in a separate file, so that none of your opinions and information you provide can be attributed to you.

If you have any questions or comments regarding this study, please contact Mark Stuhlfaut, the student researcher on this project, at Michigan State University, 517-355-5084, stuhlfau@msu.edu, or Dr. Bruce Vanden Bergh, Department of Advertising, 309 Communication Arts Building, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 48824, 517-355-2314.

Further, if you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact (anonymously if you wish) Peter Vasilenko, director, Human Research Protection Program, by phone (517-355-2180), fax (517-432-4503), e-mail (irb@ores.msu.edu), or regular mail (202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Please indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by clicking on the NEXT PAGE button below.

(NEXT PAGE)

National Survey of Creativity in Advertising

Please provide your answers by clicking on one button for each answer below. DO NOT USE YOUR BROWSER'S BACK OR FORWARD BUTTON TO MOVE FROM SCREEN TO SCREEN, because you may lose your selections. Just use your mouse to click and scroll. There are five sections. At the end of each section, please click the button at the bottom to move on to the next section.

PLEASE DO NOT DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS OR ANSWERS WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN YOUR AGENCY BEFORE YOU OR THEY HAVE ANSWERED THE SURVEY. IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOT BIAS YOUR ANSWERS BY THE ANSWERS OF OTHERS.

1. **Within advertising agencies, there may be some common understandings about WHAT IS CREATIVE in advertising. Thinking specifically about the agency where you work now, what would <u>most everyone</u> in the creative department say is ONE quality an ad concept needs to have to be called creative?**

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Now, thinking about the above quality, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

2. **Most everyone in this creative department strongly believes that this quality is important for an ad concept to be called creative.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

3. **Most everyone in the creative department strongly shares this idea about what is creative.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

4. **The above idea about what is creative is always expected to apply to every assignment in the creative department.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

5. **How strongly do you agree with most everyone in the creative department about this quality of <u>what is creative</u>?**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

6. **Thinking of your work during the past month, how much did your answer for #1 about what IS creative...**

   a. **Limit the way creative problems were defined?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

   b. **Limit the way situations were described?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

   c. **Limit the objective of the assigments?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

   d. **Direct the way you thought about the creative problem?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

   e. **Affect the way you sought out additional information?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

   f. **Affect the way you examined possible solutions?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

7. **Now, thinking of your work during the past month, how much did your answer for #1 about what IS creative affect the following items:**

   a. **The number of concepts generated**
   b. **The overall quality of the concepts**
   c. **The originality of the ads produced**
   d. **The attention-getting power of the ads**
   e. **The relevance of the ads**
   f. **The believability of the ads**
   g. **The persuasive power of the ads**

   Scale:
   Significantly decreased
   Moderately decreased
   Slightly decreased
   Neither increased or decreased
   Slightly increased
   Moderately increased
   Significantly increased

8. Within advertising agencies, there are often some common understandings about <u>WHAT IS NOT</u> creative in advertising. Thinking specifically about the agency where you work now, what would <u>most everyone</u> in the creative department say is something that shows an ad IS NOT creative?

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Now, thinking about the above quality, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

9. Most everyone in this creative department strongly believes that this quality IS NOT creative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

10. Most everyone in the creative department strongly shares this idea about what IS NOT creative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

11. The above idea about what IS NOT creative in an ad always is expected to apply to every assignment in the creative department.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

12. How strongly do <u>you</u> agree with most everyone in the creative department about this quality of what IS NOT creative?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

13. How much did your answer for #8 about what IS NOT creative:

a. **Limit the way creative problems were defined?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

b. **Limit the way situations were described?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

c. **Limit the objectives of the assignments?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

d. **Direct the way you thought about the creative problem?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

e. **Affect the way you sought out additional information?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

f. **Affect the way you thought about possible concepts?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

14. Now, also thinking about your work during the past month, how much did your answer for #8 about what IS NOT creative affect the following items:

a. **The number of concepts generated**
b. **The overall quality of the concepts**
c. **The originality of the ads produced**
d. **The attention-getting power of the ads**
e. **The relevance of the ads**
f. **The believability of the ads**
g. **The persuasive power of the ads**

   Scale:
   > Significantly decreased
   > Moderately decreased
   > Slightly decreased
   > Neither increased or decreased
   > Slightly increased
   > Moderately increased
   > Significantly increased

15. Now, thinking about a print advertisement in a magazine, what would <u>most</u> <u>everyone</u> in the creative department say is a quality that is important for a <u>layout</u> to be called creative?

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Now, thinking about the above quality, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

16. Most everyone in this creative department strongly believes that this quality is important for a layout to be called creative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

17. Most everyone in the creative department shares this idea about what is creative in a layout.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

18. The above idea about what is creative in a layout always applies to every assignment.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

19. How strongly do <u>you</u> agree with most everyone in the creative department about this quality of what is creative in a layout?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	

20. Thinking about your work during the past month, how much did your answer for #15 about what is creative in a layout:

  a. Limit the way creative problems were defined?
     Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

  b. Limit the way situations were described?
     Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

c. **Limit the objectives of the assignments?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

d. **Direct the way you thought about the creative problem?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

e. **Affect the way you sought out additional information?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

f. **Affect the way you thought about possible concepts?**
   Not at all   1 Very little   2   3   4   5   6   7 Quite a bit

21. **Now also thinking about your work during the past month, how much did your answer for #15 about what is creative in a layout affect the following items:**

   a. **The number of concepts generated**
   b. **The overall quality of the concepts**
   c. **The originality of the ads produced**
   d. **The attention-getting power of the ads**
   e. **The relevance of the ads**
   f. **The believability of the ads**
   g. **The persuasive power of the ads**

   Scale:
   > Significantly decreased
   > Moderately decreased
   > Slightly decreased
   > Neither increased or decreased
   > Slightly increased
   > Moderately increased
   > Significantly increased

SECTION 4 OF 5

22. **Please indicate the degree to which the following statements are true:**

   a. **I want my work to provide me with opportunities for increasing my knowledge and skill.**

   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Never true   Always true

   b. **Curiosity is the driving force behind much of what I do.**

   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Never true   Always true

146

c. It is important for me to have an outlet for self-expression.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

d. I want to find out how good I really can be at my work.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

e. The more difficult the problem, the more I enjoy trying to solve it.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

f. I enjoy tackling problems that are completely new to me.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

g. I enjoy trying to solve complex problems.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

h. I feel better about my work when I have more control over the result.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

i. I feel better about my work when I get clear input on an assignment.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

j. I feel better about my work when I get bonus for doing well.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

k. I feel better about my work when the assignment matches my interests.

```
1       2       3       4       5       6       7
Never true                      Always true
```

l. **I feel better about my work when I receive encouragement from my supervisor.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

m. **I feel worse about my work when I'm told it isn't good enough.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

n. **I feel worse about my work when my supervisor watches me closely.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

o. **I feel worse about my work when the deadlines are unrealistic.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

p. **I feel worse about my work when I don't think I'm getting the cooperation I need.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

q. **I feel worse about my work when the assignment is rigidly defined.**

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Never true   Always true

SECTION 5 of 5

Almost done. Now, just a little additional information is needed to help us categorize your answers.

23. **What is the name of your agency? Note: this question is only asked so all responses from your agency can be averaged together. Your answer here does not compromise the confidentiality of your information.**

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24. What is your gender?
- ○ Male
- ○ Female

25. What is your age?
- ○ 18 to 24
- ○ 25-29
- ○ 30-34
- ○ 35-39
- ○ 40-44
- ○ 45-49
- ○ 50-55
- ○ 55-59
- ○ 60+

26. How long have you worked at your current agency?
- ○ Less than 1 year
- ○ 1 year
- ○ 2 years
- ○ 3 years
- ○ 4 years
- ○ 5 years
- ○ 6 years
- ○ 7 years
- ○ 8 years
- ○ 9 years
- ○ 10 years or more

27. How long have you worked in advertising at any agency?
- ○ Less than 1 year
- ○ 1 year
- ○ 2 years
- ○ 3 years
- ○ 4 years
- ○ 5 years
- ○ 6 years
- ○ 7 years
- ○ 8 years
- ○ 9 years
- ○ 10 years or more

28. What is your primary creative responsibility?
○ Art direction
○ Copywriting
○ Other _____

If you selected other, please specify:_____

29. About how big is your agency in terms of number of employees?
○ 1 - 20 employees
○ 21-50 employees
○ 51-99 employees
○ 100-199 employees
○ 200+ employees

30. If you would like to receive a copy of the results of this survey, please enter your name and e-mail address. If not, please see the end paragraph and submit the survey. If you choose to provide your name and e-mail address, please be assured that, before any data is analyzed, your name and address will be separated from your previous answers, so no data can be attributed to you.

First name:

31. Last name:

32. E-mail address:

Thank you for completing the survey. Please click the SUBMIT button below to record your answers and close this window. You will be directed to a short statement that tells you more about the purpose of the study.

Follow-up Purpose Statement

The Purpose of the National Survey of Creativity in Advertising

The research in which you have just participated was designed to investigate the extent to which people within creative departments of advertising agencies have common values for what is and is not creative. The research was also interested in how much these values affect the creative process and how much they affect motivation to work. If we can become more aware of the self-imposed limits to creativity, perhaps this insight will lead to new thinking that opens up the creative process. If you have any more questions or would like to talk further about the study, please contact Mark Stuhlfaut at stuhlfau@msu.edu. Thank you for your participation in the study.

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152

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156

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166

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